

THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

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SEPTEMBER, 1950 ✓

No. 811

EPISODES OF THE MONTH

THE EDITOR

UNITED WE STAND

LORD ISMAY

MACKENZIE KING

A CANADIAN TRIBUTE

P.R.: A SYMPOSIUM

I. THE LIBERAL CHALLENGE

LADY VIOLET BONHAM CARTER

II. A SOCIALIST COMMENT

ROY JENKINS, M.P.

III. THE CONSERVATIVE ATTITUDE

REGINALD MAUDLING, M.P.

ADA LEVERSON, WILDE & "MAX"

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EPISODES OF THE MONTH

FIRST of all, God bless the new Princess! The happiness of Princess Elizabeth and her husband, and of other members of the Royal Family, is shared by millions who comprise our world-wide Commonwealth family, and indeed by many who do not owe allegiance to our monarchy, but who nevertheless regard it with deep affection and respect. In spite of the dangers which are casting a cold shadow over us, it is right that we should celebrate this family event. It appeals to what is most complicated, as well as to what is simplest, in our natures; to our highest ideals, as well as to our homeliest feelings. And an event which has the power to do this is an event of boundless importance.

The War Front

THE Americans and South Koreans have been putting up a splendid fight and, as we go to press, a situation which, on August 17, appeared almost desperate, has significantly improved. We will not refer to specific tactical achievements and dangers, because the fortunes of battle are changing from day to day. But it is to be noted that the defenders, having shortened their line to the very limit, are now less susceptible than at any previous stage in the campaign to the enemy's numerical superiority. Moreover, exhaustion, extended communications and persistent bombing may be telling against the North Koreans.

But they have come to within a very short distance of success and the position is still perilous. Before there can be any question of throwing them back they must first be decisively held; and this is still the supreme task of the United Nations' forces.

A British Reinforcement

WHEN Mr. Shinwell spoke in the House of Commons' debate on Defence he announced that the Government proposed to send "an effective land reinforcement (to Korea) . . . a self-contained force including infantry, armour, artillery and engineers, together with the administrative backing required to maintain it." At the same time he said that it would be unsound to withdraw troops from Malaya or from Hong Kong. The reinforcement could not be drawn from these quarters, but it would be sent "as quickly as possible."

That was at the end of July. Since then the military situation in Korea has deteriorated, and the War Office has just announced that "in response to the request by (General MacArthur) the United Kingdom Government has decided to send an infantry force from Hong Kong to Korea immediately. Replacements for the units composing this force will shortly arrive in Hong Kong."

Good luck to our compatriots on their grim and vital errand. And good luck to our Commonwealth brothers, in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, who have volunteered for the fight. We are glad to feel that British battalions will be serving side by side with Australian troops in a Commonwealth brigade; and we trust that this will grow before long into a Commonwealth division.

Above All, Speed!

WE do not wish to be over-censorious of the Government in the present crisis, because considering that they are Socialists, and that they have to contend with a by no means negligible pacifist element among their supporters, they have shown more than a modicum of statesmanship and determination. But if this is not the moment to bandy reckless abuse, it is certainly not the moment for idle felicitation. Peace can, we are sure, be preserved: but it can only be preserved if the British Commonwealth and the United States, with such competent Allies as they can find, remain in a state of constant preparedness and act, when need arises, *with the utmost swiftness*. Only thus can they hope to persuade the angels of Communism that they have nothing to gain from armed encroachment and adventure.

Korea has amply illustrated the importance of speed. The Communists started there with every advantage except air power—an advantage which, to say the least, must have been over-rated by some high-ranking Americans. The North Koreans had the advantages of surprise, superior numbers and interior lines. Against these the United Nations could only hope to prevail

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by an intensive effort; by bringing well-equipped reinforcements to the scene of action *with extreme rapidity*. We may still hope that the effort made will prove to have been intensive enough: but we are meanwhile not satisfied that the reaction of our own Government was as prompt as it might have been.

Expenditure Now!

IT is a truism that justice, to be complete, must be apparent. The same is true of Defence plans. If we are to convince our enemies, our Allies—and ourselves—that we are rising to the full measure of the emergency, we must make an effort which is not only reasonable and adequate, but spectacular. No such effort has as yet been called forth by those whose duty it is to lead us.

It is not enough for the Government to propose a two-per-cent. increase in the proportion of the national income to be spent on defence over the next three years—especially as this is to be conditional on increased American aid. Nothing that is done will be enough, unless the “business as usual” atmosphere which still exists in the country is soon dispelled. The Government may conscript the nation’s youth for a longer period and they may encourage recruiting by improving rates of pay in the Services: but these and other measures of the same sort must be taken in the context of a great national awakening. Sacrifices will be required of *all*; and *all* must be made aware of the fact.

Strategic Planning

OUR first article this month, by no less an authority than Lord Ismay, calls attention to the invaluable work which was done during the last war by the combined American and British Chiefs of Staff. Strategic planning on a world scale, which was their responsibility then, is urgently needed now. Resistance to Communist enslavement, though we all pray that it may never take the form of a third world war, must nevertheless be viewed as a global operation; and it is essential that the resources of the anti-Communist Powers should not be wasted through a lack of planning, and that, whatever the immediate preoccupations of any or all of those Powers, vulnerable areas of paramount importance should not be neglected.

For instance, it is surely a mistake for troops of the gallant Turkish Republic to be sent all the way to Korea, if, as we strongly suspect, they could be more usefully employed as part of an as yet almost non-existent structure of Middle Eastern

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security. The Middle East should now be giving as many headaches as Korea or Formosa to the grand strategists on our side; but there is little evidence that they are giving it more than a passing thought.

The Middle East—And Oil

THE Middle East is an area with most dangerous possibilities, because oil there presents the Russians with a major and permanent temptation. Outside North, Central and South America the Middle East is the world's largest oil-producing area, with an estimated present output of about 1,500,000 barrels per day. Persia and Saudi Arabia each account for about a third of this total, Kuwait and Iraq produce the bulk of the remaining third, while Bahrein and Egypt contribute the small balance. By contrast, Soviet oil production, even after all the efforts of the post-war Five-Year Plan, is believed to amount to less than a million barrels a day.

A Critical Factor

MIDDLE Eastern oil is mainly exported. It supplies Europe and Africa with an important and rapidly growing fraction of their imports. It provides the Far East, Australia and New Zealand with the bulk of their consumption. Such is the present peace-time picture. In war the situation would be vastly more critical. The Middle East offers the West its only significant source of oil outside the Americas. Among other things, it is essential to Western naval command of the Indian Ocean, and all but essential to naval command of the Western and Southern Pacific. Its importance is the greater because of the immense pressure on existing tanker space, which can meet current demands only because the shortest and most economic hauls are possible. If Britain and the United States were to lose Middle Eastern oil, the logistics of supply from the American Continent would be most difficult. Nor would swarms of Russian Schnorkel-equipped submarines with high under-water speeds along the Atlantic supply routes make the problem easier.

Russia's Power To Strike

IT would not be easy for the Russians to acquire for their own use any important fraction of the developed oil resources of the Middle East. Elaborate and expensive pipe-line installations would be needed to divert oil in bulk northwards to Soviet territory. An effort well within Russian power, however, could

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deprive the West of oil from the Persian and Iraqi fields, and could seriously threaten the other important Middle Eastern fields.

Apart from geographic propinquity, Russia's power to strike in the Middle East rests ultimately on force of arms. The military district primarily concerned is the South Caucasus Command, which includes Georgian and Armenian territories as well as Soviet Azerbaijan. The importance which Moscow attaches to the South Caucasus Command appears from the fact that its infantry divisions are maintained at full strength and not merely as cadres, and also from the fact that the Commander-in-Chief is Army-General A. I. Antonov, who was previously Chief of Staff to the Soviet Supreme Command for about five years, and who succeeded Marshal Tolbukhin, one of the leading Soviet generals of the last war, on his death in October, 1949.

The Technique of Subversion

OPEN resort to force need be only the last weapon in the Soviet armoury. A wide range of subversive methods is also available. Among the Kurds, for example, who are conveniently spread over Turkish, Persian and Iraqi territory, Soviet agents have worked and intrigued for years, spreading propaganda, organising a clandestine press, fomenting unrest, and secretly distributing arms. Azerbaijan offers more important possibilities. This richest and most important province of Persia adjoins the Soviet republic of the same name and the Persian Caspian Sea province of Gilan. Throughout this area the Soviet record is one of intrigue and trouble-making ever since the Bolshevik Revolution. Soviet troops occupied Gilan in 1920 and a short-lived Soviet republic was proclaimed there. Azerbaijan separatism was fostered. Under Shah Reza Khan all Communist activities were ruthlessly suppressed throughout Persia: but with the arrival of Soviet forces in the country in 1941 the tale of Soviet-inspired and Communist-directed intrigue began again. The chief instrument of Soviet policy was from then onwards the Tudeh Party, which played a major part in the abortive Russian attempt of 1945-46 to use a nominally independent Azerbaijani separatist movement to unite Persian Azerbaijan with the ethnically related people of Soviet Azerbaijan. Now the same Soviet technique of intrigue and subversion is again hard at work, this time through broadcasts both in Kurdish and Azerbaijani, as well as in other more or less underground ways, the outlines of which can be perceived, though their full scope will only become known later.

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Treaty Rights as a Cloak

FROM early Bolshevik days the Russians were careful to prepare a legal basis for intervention in Persia if subversion should fail them and if the straightforward movement of Soviet armies should prove undesirable. Language of the necessary vagueness was introduced into the so-called Treaty of Friendship between Persia and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic dated February 26, 1921. The relevant articles of that treaty read:—

ARTICLE 5

The two High Contracting Parties undertake:

- (1) To prohibit the formation or presence within their respective territories, of any organisation or groups of persons, irrespective of the name by which they are known, whose object is to engage in acts of hostility against Persia or Russia, or against the Allies of Russia. They will likewise prohibit the formation of troops or armies within their respective territories with the aforementioned object.
- (2) Not to allow a third party or organisation, whatever it be called, which is hostile to the other Contracting Party, to import or to convey in transit across their countries material which can be used against the other Party.
- (3) To prevent by all means in their power the presence within their territories or within the territories of their Allies of all armies or forces of a third party in cases in which the presence of such forces would be regarded as a menace to the frontiers, interests or safety of the other Contracting Party.

ARTICLE 6

If a third Party should attempt to carry out a policy of usurpation by means of armed intervention in Persia, or if such Power should desire to use Persian territory as a base of operations against Russia, or if a Foreign Power should threaten the frontiers of Federal Russia or those of its Allies, and if the Persian Government should not be able to put a stop to such menace after having been once called upon to do so by Russia, *Russia shall have the right to advance her troops into the Persian interior for the purpose of carrying out the military operations necessary for its defence.* Russia undertakes, however, to withdraw her troops from Persian territory as soon as the danger has been removed. (Our italics.)

It is easy to see why the Bolsheviks wanted provisions of this kind at a time when the Russian Civil War was still in progress and when memories of foreign intervention against the Bolshevik regime were recent and painful. But it is hard to see why the Persian Government of that date, even with the hated presence of Russian troops on Persian soil, should have agreed to language so ill-defined and so open to abuse.

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A Problem for the West

EARLIER this year Moscow invoked these provisions of the 1921 treaty. The nominal grounds for Russian complaint were alleged American activities in Persia, including aerial oil surveys in the north (which the Persian Government have now stopped) and the construction of airfields at Tabriz, Shiraz and Meshed. Teheran has been compliant, and a slight *detente* enabled Soviet-Persian negotiations for a commercial agreement to begin in mid-August. But the situation remains filled with the most menacing possibilities. Another Korea can easily be created in the Middle East. Suppose that a Communist-inspired revolt breaks out in Azerbaijan, that Soviet-organised groups seize power and express a desire to "unite" with Soviet Azerbaijan, and that Persian forces advance to restore order. Suppose that Soviet Azerbaijani troops then move forward to "liberate" their ethnic brothers, or that Moscow invokes the 1921 treaty, alleges new activities by the Anglo-American "imperialists and war-mongers" and sends avowedly Soviet troops into Persia. Will such troop movements come to a stop in the Persian northern provinces? What will happen to Persian oil? How will the oil-fields of Iraq—which lie largely in Kurdish areas—be affected?

What Would be Our Reply?

AND what reply will either London or Washington be in a position to make? Are any British or American troops available who could be despatched forthwith to Persia? If not, how are the oil-fields to be protected? And even if troops can be found, how will the Security Council at Lake Success be able to deal with the legal aspect of a situation in which Russia is nominally merely exercising her rights under a long-standing treaty? In face of evident and immediate dangers, both the Middle East and the Indian sub-continent are divided, and therefore powerless. But we hope that other worries will not prevent Mr. Bevin and Mr. Acheson from facing these dangers—and facing them in time.

Kashmir Again

WE have stressed the need for political and strategic planning in the Middle East, because, as we have said, there is at present no coherent strength in that part of the world. One of the reasons for this is that the mighty human resources of India and Pakistan, and all that these two nations are spending on

armaments, have to be written off from the point of view of general security. They are preparing against each other, rather than against any external threat. Instead of a united Empire, and the magnificent army which played so notable a part in two world wars, there is now the tragedy of partition and the menace of an even worse tragedy—civil war.

This menace has certainly become no less serious with the failure of Sir Owen Dixon, the United Nations mediator, to find a formula for resolving the Kashmir dispute. Many well-informed people were from the first sceptical of his chances: but mediators are always expected to work miracles, and those who cannot personally appreciate the economic and communal significance of Kashmir are bound to regard the Indo-Pakistani quarrel as grotesquely irrelevant to the real crisis of our time.

But this quarrel is a terrible fact, which we cannot ignore, however absurd it may seem to us and wherever the ultimate blame may lie. Even if—as some intelligent observers on both sides seem to think—civil war can be avoided and the situation gradually stabilise itself along the present cease-fire line, it is too much to hope that two states, whose mutual distrust and rivalry have been so aggravated, will be able to stand together as partners in the world front against Communism. Such a change of heart may after all occur: but to count on it would be wishful thinking.

The Lesson of Strasbourg

THE second session of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, which began at Strasbourg on August 7, has demonstrated once and for all that ingenious attempts by politicians to square the circle and reconcile federation with national freedom are doomed to failure.

There had earlier been much controversy between Socialists and Conservatives here at home about the proper way for this country to react to the Schuman Plan; and the Government's unconstructive attitude had been bitterly denounced by Mr. Macmillan and others. But when it came to the point, the British delegates displayed a solidarity which must have surprised and angered those facile theorists who choose to ignore the deepest forces of patriotic interest and tradition. Mr. Eccles and Mr. Edelman together—and alone—dissented from the Economic Committee's resolution that the proposed "high authority" for coal and steel should be ultimately responsible to the Assembly. And Mr. Macmillan, having had his own "compromise" plan rejected by M. Schuman, stated with

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admirable, if somewhat belated, forthrightness that "the British people would never hand over to any supra-national authority the right to close British pits and steelworks."

A European Army

MR. CHURCHILL'S immense prestige as the saviour of Europe and arch-apostle of European unity was devoted in this session to urging "the immediate creation of a European army subject to proper unified democratic control and acting in full co-operation with the United States and Canada." "France," said Mr. Churchill, "must revive again her famous army. We welcome our Italian comrades. All—Greece, Turkey, Holland, Belgium, and Scandinavia—must bear their share." (It was subsequently stated, on Mr. Churchill's authority, that the omission of Western Germany from this list had been accidental.) Just before the passage quoted he had said:—"Great Britain and the United States must send large forces to the Continent." The motion calling for a European army was carried by 89 votes to 5, with 27 abstentions. The latter included a few British Socialists, the Swedes (whose country is not a signatory of the Atlantic Pact) and the German Socialists. The Irish delegates also refused to vote for the motion, because of Partition and the "British occupation" !

A Dubious Phrase

MR. CHURCHILL'S proposal was put in such a way as to invite the minimum of controversy; and no one could doubt its value as a stimulant to Governments and peoples alike. The idea of a European army appeals to the imagination; and the need for effective unified command and staff-work is all too evident, as we have already had occasion to note in a wider context.

But, while it is not our habit to think along the same lines as Dr. Dalton, we are bound to remark that the phrase "proper unified democratic control" requires clarification. If this means the setting up of a supra-national Ministry of Defence, responsible to an elected Assembly of Europe, we are strongly opposed to it, on practical as well as theoretical grounds. The organisation which gave us victory in 1944-45 is surely an example worth following. S.H.A.E.F. indeed provided an element of complete unification: but S.H.A.E.F. exercised strategic, not political or "democratic," control. The latter

was never handed over to any supra-national body: it remained in the hands of national Governments, acting in close consultation and harmony, and responsible, in the last resort, to their own compatriots.

We can hardly suppose that Mr. Churchill intended any drastic departure from this well-tried pattern. But the phrase in question—devised, presumably, for the gratification of federalists—is dubious and misleading.

If Germans, why not Spaniards ?

THE only other point in Mr. Churchill's argument which we cannot endorse is his plea that Western Germany should be rearmed and allowed to contribute on equal terms to any European army that may be formed. We are convinced that, great as is the Russian threat to Western security, the German threat is still, potentially, just as great. The Russians have, on their side, overlooked this danger and committed the folly of reviving a strong German force. But so long as we are wiser, there can be no question of German military power holding the balance on the Continent, as it assuredly would if we were to complement the Russian error on our side of the Iron Curtain.

But anyway, what possible case can there be for drawing upon ex-enemy manpower to make up the depleted strength of the West, while the brave soldiers of Spain are kept, for ideological reasons, beyond the pale? We hold no special brief for General Franco: but we do suggest that, as tyrants go, there have been many worse, and, above all, we do assert that Spain, whatever its Government, has no desire to dominate Europe. We cannot see that the inclusion of Spain in a system of European defence would even compare, as an affront to principle, with the rearmament of Western Germany. Admittedly, the Germans are in a more exposed position, and the Spaniards are usually at their best when serving on their own ground. But we contend all the same that it would be quite wrong to devote money and equipment to resuscitating the *Wehrmacht*, while three-quarters of a million Spanish troops are left to languish in their Peninsula.

The Belgian Monarchy

AT the beginning of August Belgium was brought to the very brink of civil war by the behaviour, on the one hand, of King Leopold and, on the other, by that of M. Spaak and his Socialist Party. King Leopold had seen fit to return to Belgium against the declared wish of a very substantial minority of the

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population; and he must have known that his action would inevitably inflame social, political, racial and metaphysical passions among his subjects.

At once a normally peaceful and prosperous country was thrown into confusion. Railway lines were blown up, strikes brought industry to a standstill, and there were ugly clashes between demonstrators and the police. A great Socialist march on Brussels was planned, and had actually begun, when the King agreed to hand over his royal prerogatives straightaway to his eldest son, Prince Baudouin, and to abdicate conclusively in the latter's favour when he came of age this time next year.

Comparative tranquillity has now been restored: but the assassination of M. Lahaut, President of the Communist Party in Belgium, shows that the fires which so nearly engulfed the whole country are not yet extinct. We, for our part, can only hope that the memory of recent troubles will not long disturb the happiness and harmony of our friends, the Belgian people, nor the stability of their monarchical constitution.

The Leasehold Report

THE Jenkins Committee on Leaseholds has recently published its final Report. The law of leaseholds bristles with technical difficulties, and it is probable that the Report will be more frequently quoted than read. The question before the Committee was not whether the leasehold system should be continued: this question has already been answered in the affirmative by the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947. The Committee was concerned only with defects in the existing system, and their possible remedies.

The first recommendation, which relates to repairs and improvements undertaken by the tenant, is quite uncontroversial. The second recommendation concerns the rights of leaseholders of business premises. The position here is complicated by an interim report which appeared last year, and which proposed to give the tenant a more or less automatic right of renewal of his lease. A minority of those signing the final Report wish to make these interim proposals permanent, while the majority agree that, under certain conditions, the landlord should be able to recover possession of his property.

But the third recommendation is the crucial one. Should the ordinary residential leaseholder have the right compulsorily to purchase the freehold on the expiry of the lease? This is the view held by the two Socialist members of the Committee, Mr. Hale and Mr. Ungood-Thomas. Alternatively,

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and as a second-best, they suggest (along with three other members) that the tenant should have a statutory right to renew his lease—at a fair market rental—when it expires. The remaining members of the Committee recommend that the tenant should normally have the first refusal of the freehold, if the landlord wishes to sell, but do not see how this recommendation could be enforced. Here is an issue which will be hotly contested on both sides.

Need for Guidance

IT is rumoured that the division of opinion in the Jenkins Committee is reflected in the Cabinet. This is not at all unlikely: some Ministers (including, perhaps, Mr. Aneurin Bevan) will instinctively support the tenant against the landlord, while others more prudently reflect that the landlords include a considerable number of local authorities, some of them Socialist-dominated. Even so, there is a large and influential section of the Socialist Party which vigorously supports the opinion of Mr. Hale and Mr. Ungood-Thomas, that the leaseholder should have the right compulsorily to purchase the freehold when the lease expires. And there is no question that a policy of "leasehold enfranchisement" (the legal term for a compulsory right of purchase) might well prove popular in just those residential quarters of big cities on which Conservatives depend for solid support. It is, therefore, of the highest importance that Conservative speakers should be well briefed on this question, and that they should receive clear guidance from those Members of Parliament—such as Mr. Manningham-Buller and Mr. Walker-Smith—who thoroughly understand it. There is one solid argument against leasehold enfranchisement which cannot arouse any anti-landlord prejudice. Most leases are of 99 years' duration, and most houses become obsolescent after 99 years. Thus, from the point of view of town planning, it is far better that a complete block of leaseholds in a particular area should revert to the landlord, rather than a scattered minority which would provide no scope for any large-scale scheme of development.

Socialist Falsehoods

IT is also important that Conservatives should expose Socialist false statements on this subject. One Socialist candidate at the last election went so far as to inform certain leaseholders that "the builders leased the land to you for 99 years at an

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annual rental equal in many cases to the total price they paid for the plot." Actually, his assumption that the land was originally bought at £50 to £100 an acre was approximately 900 per cent. incorrect: he omitted to mention that the cost of road-making (approximately £80 a plot) had to come from the ground-rents; nor did he appear to be aware that the builders concerned had sold their houses at approximately cost price, and that the ground-rents represented their sole profit. Beyond question, the leasehold system has enabled countless people to buy their own houses who could never have afforded to purchase a freehold. If leasehold reform plays a prominent part in the next Socialist election manifesto, it will be necessary to drive these points home.

A Threat to the Moors

THE Bill creating National Parks confers additional privileges upon the rambling and picnicking community and will presumably encourage larger sections of the public to take their pleasure in the open air. If so, problems will be created which will require the urgent attention of the National Parks Commission, acting in conjunction with the County Councils. When large numbers of people visit the moors in summer, it seems almost inevitable that, even with reasonable care, they will start fires; and moor-fires can cause damage on a scale outside the imagination of the average townsman, as witness the enormous loss recently suffered by sheep-farming tenants and hill-owners in Yorkshire. A cigarette-end or a glass bottle carelessly discarded can destroy the heather, which means the livelihood of a man and his sheep, for at least three years and possibly more, over an area which usually runs into hundreds of acres. A beauty-spot becomes a charred eyesore, and thus the carelessness of one of their number recoils upon the ramblers. This grievous danger should be forestalled, perhaps by confining access to "white land" (where heather is scarce) or walled tracks, during exceptionally dry weather; if this proves impossible, the public must somehow be educated, in their own interest, to a much higher standard of carefulness.

Mackenzie King: Statesman and Politician

MR. MACKENZIE KING, who for so many years was Prime Minister of Canada, died just after we went to press last month; and we publish in this number a tribute to him by a compatriot whose anonymity is not, we can assure our readers,

a cloak for partisanship. The tribute is, in our opinion, fair and well-deserved.

Mackenzie King was beyond doubt a great statesman: but he was also an extremely shrewd, and at times perhaps a ruthless, politician. This may help to explain why, like the late President Roosevelt, he was so bitterly hated by so many people. Like Roosevelt, he knew how to cultivate and retain such popularity as was necessary for the retention of power: but he could never arouse the same degree of enthusiasm as Roosevelt aroused among his supporters. It might indeed—echoing Lord Falkland—be said of Mr. King that, while those who hated him hated him worse than the Devil, those who loved him did not love him so well as their dinner!

Cruel, only to be Kind

BUT, as the author of our article shows, and as anyone who has read Mr. King's own early work, *The Secret of Heroism*, will readily agree, this apparently unlovable character was by no means devoid of finer feeling. In giving up his life to public affairs—and his will, comparable with that of Cecil Rhodes, has made that dedication complete—he seems to have imposed upon himself an emotional austerity which prevented all but a few from ever appreciating the true warmth and depth of his nature. He was, in fact, capable of sinking, for political purposes, to levels of conduct which, *mutatis mutandis*, would be condemned in a private individual: the two most glaring instances being his exploitation of Lord Byng's constitutional acts in 1925-26, and his treatment of Colonel Ralston over the Conscription issue in 1944.

But in spite of these and other controversial points, history will, we believe, do handsome justice to Mackenzie King's career. His lack of fervour as an "Imperialist" will be very largely attributed to a constructive Commonwealth instinct, which was denied to many of his critics. As a Canadian above all, but hardly less as a British and Commonwealth statesman, his place is secure in the catalogue of fame.

UNITED WE STAND

By GENERAL LORD ISMAY

I. THE SEED

RATHER more than 25 years ago, the Committee of Imperial Defence took a step which was destined to have a profound effect on the fortunes of the Allies in the Second World War. This was the setting up of the Chiefs of Staff Committee. The Prime Minister was Chairman and the Chiefs of Staff of the three fighting services the only members. The terms of reference of this Committee are implicit in the formal warrant which was issued by the Prime Minister to each Chief of Staff on assuming office:

In addition to the functions of the Chiefs of Staff as advisers on questions of sea, land or air policy respectively to their own Board or Council, each of the three Chiefs of Staff will have an individual and collective responsibility for advising on *defence policy as a whole*, the three constituting, as it were, a Super-Chiefs of War Staff in Commission.

The Prime Minister occasionally presided at the Committee's meetings, but as a general rule the Chiefs of Staff met alone. They took some time to settle down as a team. There was at first a tendency for each member to regard himself as the champion of his own service, and there was, if I may say so, a lack of realisation that no fighting service can give the full value of which it is capable without the close co-operation of the others. As a result, discussions were at first apt to be partisan and occasionally heated.

In due course, and in the light of experience, the Chiefs of Staff Organisation was developed along natural lines. First a Joint Planning Staff was set up, and later a Joint Intelligence Staff. As war became more imminent, the prob-

lems which confronted the Chiefs of Staff became concrete rather than abstract or doctrinal, and the cohesion of the whole organisation sensibly increased.

II. THE HARVEST

And so it came to pass that when war broke out on September 3, 1939, the Cabinet had at their disposal a machine which was in a position first to advise them both on defence policy as a whole and on the specific operations to be carried out; secondly, to keep them informed as to the aggregate of the fighting resources available, and to make recommendations as to how these resources should be allocated; and thirdly, to give them the best available information as to the strength and intentions of the enemy. How different from the days of the First World War!

But there was more to come. Immediately after Pearl Harbour, Mr. Churchill and the British Chiefs of Staff proceeded to Washington to confer with President Roosevelt and his advisers. One of the most important and immediate points to be settled was the structure of allied control.

At that time the United States had no recognised machinery for consultation and collaboration between their Army and Navy. The President, on learning of our system, decided forthwith to set up an American Joint Chiefs of Staff organisation on the British model. They went through their teething troubles, much as we had done 25 years earlier, and I am sure that my American friends will forgive me if I tell a story about those early days. When the American Chiefs of Staff had been in existence for two or three

months, Field Marshal Sir John Dill, who was the head of our Joint Staff Mission in Washington, was asked by a friend what his duties were. He replied: "I am not quite sure, but at least I provide neutral ground on which the American Army and Navy can meet."

Simultaneously with the setting up of the American Joint Chiefs of Staff, the President and Prime Minister decided to set up a body which has now become famous as the Combined Chiefs of Staff. When history comes to be written, the verdict may well be that this decision had a greater effect on the conduct of the war than any other single decision that was taken either by the Supreme Commands or in the field.

The Combined Chiefs of Staff Committee consisted of the American Chiefs of Staff and the British Chiefs of Staff, and they were served by Combined American-British Planning and Intelligence Staffs. Their headquarters were in Washington, but since the British Chiefs of Staff clearly had to live close to their own Government, they were represented in Washington by high-ranking officers who permanently resided there. These representatives were in continuous touch with their chiefs in London, and could thus receive from them day to day instructions as to the line that they should take on any and every problem which came up for discussion by the Combined Chiefs of Staff. It is, however, to be specially noted that most of the vital decisions which governed the conduct of the war were taken by the principals themselves, deliberately brought together at the war conferences which were held in various parts of the world and presided over by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill—Casablanca, Washington, Quebec, Cairo, Tehran, and so forth. Vital decisions, especially if they are controversial, can be taken

only at the summit, and much more can be accomplished by men talking face to face than by numberless telegrams.

At these conferences the problems of the Combined Chiefs of Staff were dealt with in a common sense and business-like way. As their first task they examined the war situation all over the world, in the light of the most recent reports from the commanders in the various theatres, and reached an agreed decision as to the overall strategic concept which should govern the further prosecution of the war. As a second step they decided on the operations that should be undertaken in the individual theatres in pursuance of that concept. Then they examined the combined resources available in man power, equipment and shipping; and finally they allocated them in accordance with the priorities dictated by the concept.

I can recall no instance in which there was a failure to reach complete agreement on any problem, however controversial, or to send Commanders-in-Chief definite and clear-cut instructions. But I would be giving a false impression if I were to suggest that these agreements were reached without a good deal of very plain, and occasionally pretty tough, speaking. There were times when the more junior officers were removed from the chamber because it was not seemly that they should hear the conversation. But, however sharp the conflict of view, however heated the argument, the outstanding impression left on the mind was that each member of this great combined team thought of one thing, and one thing only: how best to win the war in the shortest possible time. Each of them stated his case without fear, favour or affection, and with no thought of purely national, or still less personal, interests. One

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might or might not agree with the argument, but no one could ever doubt the sincerity of the conviction which prompted it. Nor could one ever doubt but that any decision once reached would be carried out with the utmost loyalty, even—or perhaps especially—by those who had held other views in the first instance.

The teamwork and fixity of purpose of the Combined Chiefs of Staff was reflected all the way down the line. When an Allied Commander-in-Chief received his instructions, he and his staff and his subordinate commanders, both British and American, were fortified in the knowledge that these instructions were the result of a profound examination of the war situation *as a whole* by trusted leaders, and that they had the complete approval and support of their Governments. And even if they sometimes thought that they had not been allotted altogether adequate resources—for in the history of war no Commander-in-Chief has ever felt that he has got enough of everything—they at least knew that the same authorities who had devised the plan had also been responsible for allocating the resources necessary to implement it.

In conclusion, it must always be borne in mind that the Combined Chiefs of Staff were a purely military body. Obviously in total war there are many other considerations, in addition to the military, to be taken into account—political, economic, and so forth. The Combined Chiefs of Staff would be the first to admit that they could not have functioned had they not been sustained and supported from day to day by the President and Prime Minister, who alone were in a position to focus all the considerations at issue, and who alone had the authority to give the necessary orders.

It may be asked why the other great Allied nations were not represented in

this supreme direction of war. The answer is that if its numbers had been unduly increased, its efficiency would have been wrecked. Consequently, all those other great nations were content, under the dire threat of Germany and Japan, to leave their military affairs in the hands of the Anglo-American Chiefs of Staff, subject always, of course, to the veto of their respective Governments.

We may be thankful that our enemies had no counterpart to the Combined Chiefs of Staff, and that consequently they never had any such thing as a unified strategic plan. If things had been otherwise, the result of the war might well have been different.

III. THE AFTERMATH

Five years ago I had the honour of addressing the Foreign Policy Association in New York. I told them about the Combined Chiefs of Staff, and I concluded with the following words:

At the present time, all men of goodwill are striving to co-operate in building a new world out of the wreckage of the old. But goodwill, however sincere, will not ensure effective co-operation, unless it is properly organised. Surely there must be something to be learnt from the experiences of an organisation which, in the storms and stresses of war, succeeded in securing between Allies a unity of purpose and a unity of action hitherto unparalleled in history. I submit, therefore, that the architects of any organisation or organisations that may be designed to secure the co-operation of all peace-loving peoples would do well to study in detail the pattern, the system and the procedure of the organisation of the Combined Chiefs of Staff.

Is there any doubt that the situation which I foresaw in 1945 when I spoke those words has now arisen? I little thought that it would arise so soon.

ISMAY.

MACKENZIE KING: TRADITIONALIST AND PROGRESSIVE

By A CANADIAN

A STORY illustrating Mackenzie King's love of symbolism is told in a recent biography of the former Canadian Prime Minister by H. Reginald Hardy. Mr. King was present at Croydon when one of the big bells for the carillon in the Peace Tower at Ottawa was being founded. He leaned over, tossed an English halfpenny and a Canadian cent into the molten metal, remarking, with a twinkle in his eye, "Equal status!"

Mr. King's attitude to England has been variously interpreted and—like so many of his attitudes—often seemed a compound of contradictions, wrapped up in platitudes. Were the intangible but unbreakable ties of affection, often expressed in conventional terms of sentiment, really felt by this undramatic, self-contained servant of Canada? Certainly, he didn't accept the British tradition blindly or emotionally. He valued it, not as a creed, but as a system of human relationships, to be adapted to the needs of a new age. He believed that its greatest usefulness to civilisation was yet to come and he worked always towards extending the area where it might serve as a framework for a reasonable and responsible way of life. His interpretation of the essential nature of "the British connection" was primarily a moral interpretation, based on history and social evolution, as he understood them. It was on the bedrock of his moral convictions that he built and re-built the national, and international, rela-

tions of the country he led as Prime Minister for over two decades.

Because of his conception of the nature and value of the British tradition, he believed its first essential—and the very touch-stone of its living influence—to be the independence and freedom of the members, who inherited it and handed it on. His insistence on Canadian independence was his most British characteristic.

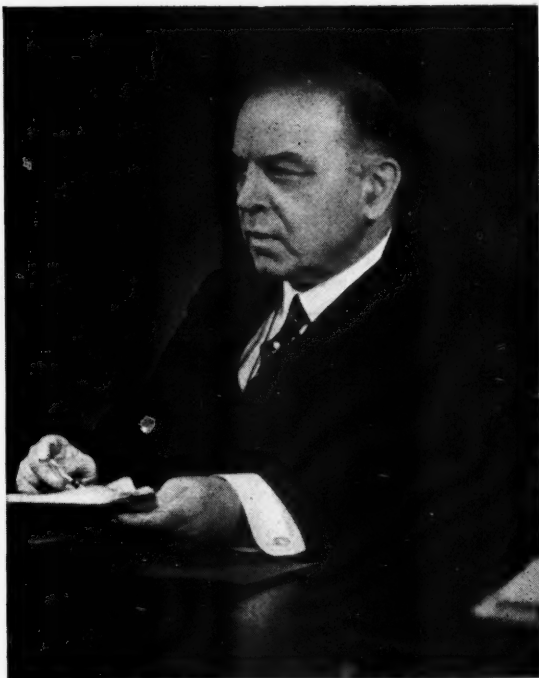
If, in confirming Canada's independence, Mackenzie King was fundamentally British, he was also, immediately, a Canadian of his time. Had he not been willing to build Canada's nationhood, some other man would have been commissioned for the task.

From his entry into the Government as Deputy Minister of Labour under Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1900 he assumed, as his leader assumed, that the building of national unity was the prime duty of Canadian statesmanship in the era ahead. During the next fourteen years, the two main ethnic groups, French and British, were joined by great waves of immigrants who poured into the country from Europe and overflowed across the American border. The problems of these years were not simply the problems of racial assimilation and reconciliation—of weaving the woof of many nations into the warp of the British way of life. As settlers developed communities across the Dominion, Canadian unity was threatened by the very size of the nation that denied a common interest

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across nearly 4,000 miles of country so sparsely peopled. The Great War brought a new sense of nationhood but it brought also the threat of a breakdown between the English and French-speaking communities, who had lived so uneasily together even in peace. When Mackenzie King became Prime Minister in 1921, he was faced with political disruption, economic controversies, a country divided in its needs, its ambitions, its loyalties. The new Prime Minister believed, as all Canadians had begun to believe, in the destiny of the country. From the day he assumed leadership in Parliament, Mackenzie King dedicated his life to a vision of Canada, a united nation, an independent nation, a great and equal nation in the open community of nations that follow the British tradition.

If, in the early phases of his career, Mr. King acted primarily as the elected agent of Canadian nationhood, he was able to reveal increasingly, as the years went on, an equal belief in Canada's responsibility as a member of the Commonwealth. There was no inconsistency here. When Canada had satisfied her own self-respect, she became more united and, as a result, stronger and more competent. She could then do more for the Commonwealth and, incidentally, for Britain than she had done before. The emergence of Canada as a full partner in the Commonwealth, officially expressed in the Statute of Westminster, gave the Dominion a self-confidence that was reflected in her relationships with other Commonwealth countries, with the United States and as a member of the United Nations. Her decisions were based on the new sense of responsibility she had achieved. Mackenzie King led his people and voiced their will in these days of growing-up to



MACKENZIE KING.

(The Canadian Film Board.)

full stature. He never committed Canada to any course before she was ready for it but he brought his country into the Second World War a week after its outbreak and preserved national unity throughout the struggle. He never made sweeping declarations of loyalty or gave advance pledges on Canada's behalf. He was content to have his country judged by her deeds—the dollar gift, Mutual Aid, the Canadian credit, the cancellation of debts incurred for the Commonwealth Air Training Plan and other war purposes. He couldn't promise all aid for a cause, simply because it was a *British* cause. Canada was a nation with many national memories and loyalties. But he could rely on the heart of his country, when the British way of life was threatened because that was, in its essentials, the Canadian way of life, too. Canada gave her money and her men and her faith to the common cause, as a free nation.

Perhaps, on the larger scene of world history, Mackenzie King will be

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remembered for his insistence on flexibility in the structure of the British Commonwealth—a flexibility that has helped it to survive amid the intense pressures of 20th century nationalism. His hope that the Commonwealth would serve as a model for a much wider brotherhood of nations, was expressed in his statement before the United Nations General Assembly in Paris on September 28, 1948, when he said:—

I have sometimes wondered whether the experience in co-operation and association of the countries of the Commonwealth of Nations, to which Canada is proud to belong, has not some lessons, both positive and negative, which might be of help in meeting like difficulties in the development of a world community sense. . . . By and large, it is true that the countries of the Commonwealth do try to understand each other's problems, institutions and points of view. . . . This community sense they have developed despite differences in language, race, tradition and religion. In this more limited experiment in international political association, there are some things which may be of value in shaping the development of the United Nations.

Shortly after delivering this address, Mr. King was stricken with the heart ailment that was to prove fatal twenty-two months later. He was due to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting the next month and proceeded to London, but was confined to his hotel room by his illness. Nevertheless, he played a not unimportant part in the discussions, as many of the principals in the conference called on him. Here, he performed his final service to the Commonwealth. At that anxious time, it was not certain whether India would choose to remain in the association. The Canadians did their best to keep her in. A very happy

reception was held in honour of Pandit Nehru and other delegates at Canada House. The Indian Prime Minister had long talks with Mr. Louis St. Laurent, who was soon to succeed Mr. King. He also called twice on the retiring Canadian Prime Minister in his hotel room.

Nehru and King, both men of philosophic mind, found much in common. Mr. King told his visitor how his own grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie had led the 1837 Rebellion in Upper Canada, in an attempt to gain responsible self-government for his fellow countrymen. He urged on the Indian Prime Minister the advantages—and the constitutional possibility—of continued membership in the Commonwealth. Above all, he won Mr. Nehru's friendship.

And so Mackenzie King returned to Ottawa and retirement and months of illness. He was confined to his home at Laurier House much of the time, a long, weary siege. He began to sort out masses of papers and documents, material for his memoirs, holding half a century of Canadian history. He dictated a few pages.

There was one great pleasure in those days. During his years in harness, he had learned the lesson of discretion. He had felt he must be ever on guard lest, by showing the slightest favour, he should compromise the office of Prime Minister of Canada. His friends, no less than his enemies, criticised him for his caution, his evasiveness, his constant temporising, his silences and withdrawals. However politically sound these attitudes—and they were masterly devices, as he used them in the Canadian arena—they were often infuriating to supporters and critics alike. But when he had left the arena, a few people began to notice that the Old Man was not so inhuman. Now that his tour of duty was over, he could

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take off his uniform and relax. Previously, he could only spend five minutes with a friend. Now, he could enjoy a leisurely chat. He tired easily, of course, but there was youthful geniality in his spirit.

He had time to write to his friends the sort of letters that he wanted to write. He wasn't cautious in friendship:—

Ever since your beautiful letter, and that enormous box of delicious candies arrived at Laurier House, I have felt that an acknowledgment by 'phone was wholly inadequate. Besides, I wanted to tell you both how very much I enjoyed the evening you were good enough to spend with me. I was the one who should have sent the candies to you, and a box of flowers besides! I really did enjoy the talk we all had together much more than I can begin to say. I wish I might have seen more of you, while you were in Ottawa, but I hope you will come again before long. It makes me very happy to feel that I may look upon you both as belonging to the circle of my most cherished friends.

The man who wrote those words on November 27, 1949 (a year after his retirement), was not the "ghost in an assemblage of ghosts" that one Canadian editor has pictured. He was ill and weak but his naturally warm heart kept him interested in the lives of his friends. In these months, his personality flowered and, in a sense, he enjoyed living, as if to make up for the years when he hadn't had time enough for all the human contacts he really valued.

He was in this warm, friendly mood

when he attended his last engagement on the evening of June 15 of this year, going to the Ottawa Country Club, to meet journalists gathered for the Imperial Press Conference. His doctor forbade him to stay for the dinner but he sat in a low chair on the lawn for a time and the delegates were introduced to him.

A young Canadian diplomat helped him into his car and offered to accompany him back to Laurier House. "Oh, no!" Mr. King chuckled. "You young fellows don't get out of your responsibilities so easily! You must go back and entertain your guests." With a wave of his hand, he ended his last public appearance.

Perhaps, on the car drive home—in the interval between the sunshine of publicity and the twilight of half-sleep—he allowed himself a moment of self-satisfaction. He had met the gentlemen of the Press once again—this time without fear of being indiscreet—chatted with them about happy things—and he had been a great success.

The dumpy little bachelor knew that he had had his innings—that he had already been discounted by some of the wiseacres as an autocrat and by others as a pussyfooting humbug. But what an innings it had been! Under his cautious fathering Canada had found her sources of greatness, as England had found hers under the shrewd mothering of the Virgin Queen. It would be droll if some future history student were to compare "the spacious days of great Elizabeth" with the "Mackenzie King era."

A CANADIAN.

THE KOREAN CRISIS AND AMERICAN OPINION

By DENYS SMITH

THE Korean crisis has thrown a large question mark over many areas of American policy and has upset many previous predictions and calculations. There is only space here to deal with two of these: its influence on the Marshall Plan and on American domestic politics. The changes it has caused in both are brought into stronger relief if studied against a background of recent history.

It was easy to forget, in the immediate post-war years, that the great totalitarian power which had been on our side during the war had been there unwillingly, resentfully and not by its own choice. It was so essential to post-war peace, prosperity and stability that Russia should co-operate with the West that the probability that this would not occur was impatiently thrust aside. The whole of the western world nursed with fierce desperation the delusion that the war-time association would produce some basic alteration in the nature of a regime just as firmly committed to its own brand of totalitarianism as Nazi Germany.

The fact was not faced that, with the other two great totalitarian regimes destroyed by a war fought to the point of unconditional surrender, the remaining totalitarian regime had relatively increased its power and its ability to threaten the Western world. Instead the West comforted itself with the thought that in relation to its own previous strength Russia was weakened by its war effort. But in relation to the available strength elsewhere it was not weakened, but strengthened. Russia's relative power was also increased by

another factor. Not only had Germany and Japan disappeared as balancing factors, but the German and Japanese occupations had left large areas prostrate. Occupation had left an abiding hatred of the occupying Powers in those areas, as the West rightly assumed; but it had also left among many doubts, which could be cultivated and fanned by hostile propaganda, about the efficiency and effectiveness of the non-totalitarian world which had failed to save them from catastrophe. Russia, which in both the Far East and in Western Europe had neither to contend with the hatred felt for an occupying Power nor with disillusionment over the policies of the Western Powers, was in a far better position to enlist support particularly in the Far East, than anyone in the West realised. The chances of reaching out across a power vacuum and uniting with herself the potentialities of the two defeated totalitarian regimes and thus outbalancing for ever the Western world were too good to be neglected.

The period of cultivated delusion, what might be termed the "Pal Joey" period, lasted till 1946. The many evidences that Russia was non-co-operative were attributed to mistrust or misunderstanding of the West and not to any determination inherent in the Russian regime. Concessions and friendly gestures would secure its co-operation. Just as the West had never taken Hitler's *Mein Kampf* as a serious programme, so it ignored the evidence presented in Stalin's *Foundation of Leninism*, first published in 1924. Stalin mentioned the basic principle laid

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down by Lenin, "International Imperialism (that is the non-Communist world) under no circumstances, under no conditions, can co-exist with the Soviet Republic." He notes approvingly Lenin's assertion, "The existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with the Imperialist States for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end comes a series of frightful clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois States will be inevitable." It is true that in various published interviews with foreigners Stalin stressed the possibility of "co-existence" between Russia and the West, but these expressions of view were evidently for export only for they were in sharp contrast with the official resolutions of the Communist Party.

But this Russian doctrine of the inevitability of war between Russia and the democratic world was minimised by American policy makers during the phase which followed the realisation that Russia would not co-operate with the West, the phase which lasted till the Korean invasion. Stalinist doctrine also insisted that the "capitalist" world would fall of its own weight as the result of its inner "contradictions." Hence it was concluded that Soviet policy would be to hasten that collapse in every possible way, particularly through the domestic Communist parties and their camp followers. But to launch a major war, to have recourse to the Red Army, would refute this basic conception that "capitalism" would collapse through its inherent weaknesses. It would imply that, in the absence of direct attack, capitalist society would be basically sound and capable of coping with its inner "contradictions."

Therefore it was concluded that the main threat from Russia would be subversion and that the main task of the

United States was to help create conditions in the free world which would make subversion difficult. The Marshall Plan and the Point Four programme for aiding backward areas were designed with this end in view. Subversion, it was held, would be impossible, if recovery and development were promoted and the general standard of living raised. A major war with Russia could still arise through some accident or because the Russians became obsessed with their own propaganda that the surrounding States were thirsting to attack them, but neither was considered a serious possibility. Russia in time would accept the positions of strength created by the West. When surrounded by strength and not weakness before the last war, Russia had not been aggressively dangerous, and there was no reason why it should not return to its pre-war condition.

The Korean invasion suddenly presented the possibility that Russia might deliberately start war. Rather than accept its pre-war status it would turn to the use of military power when improved conditions in Europe and Asia began to spell the end of expansion by subversion. The reason it had held its hand so far might after all have been because it respected America's lead in atomic bombs. It might move with cautious steps, first acquiring industrial Japan and industrial Germany to balance the industrial power of the West, but if it were allowed to do so then the West would have lost the war before it started. The attack on Korea appeared to be a move towards the acquisition of Japan, just as the creation of an East German army appeared to be a move towards the acquisition of Germany. There was also the far from reassuring thought that Stalin had reached his three-score years and ten and might feel

time was short. Even if he were not to see the triumph of World Communism before he died, he might wish to see the Soviets in so strong a strategic position that there would be no doubt about the ultimate result.

The Korean crisis, therefore, has led to a change of view about the nature of the assistance which must be given friendly countries, and has led to criticism of those national leaders, past and present, who first had relied on Russian friendship and then had misjudged the nature of Russian hostility.

Before the Korean crisis it had been hoped that American assistance to Europe would gradually taper off and that by 1952 not only would economic aid have ended but military assistance would have passed its peak. Now it is clear that the total American funds given Europe must increase and not diminish. The target date for making Europe "viable"—a going concern—namely June, 1952, has lost its significance. Hitherto the Marshall Plan's contribution to making the world safe from Communism had stemmed from the improved economic conditions it fostered, which made subversion more difficult. Henceforward the Marshall Plan's purpose had to be expanded to include resisting Communism from without as well as from within. Projects are now being re-examined from the viewpoint of how quickly and extensively they contribute to European defence and priority will be given to materials required in defence production.

It was clear that, wealthy though she might be, the United States alone could not shoulder the task of equipping the free nations of the world to meet outside aggression. Europe would have to accept a slower pace of economic recovery and a lower living standard than would have been pos-

sible in a peaceful world. The American public, itself required to accept a reduction in its hoped-for living standards, would not have cheerfully accepted such a reduction if there were not proportionate sacrifice elsewhere. The American Government, therefore, looked to two ways in which Europe could contribute to its own greater security. It could first put to work any unutilised industrial capacity capable of turning out military supplies. It could secondly divert existing industrial facilities to the production of military supplies. The United States believes that military production in Europe as a whole must at least be doubled. But the increase need not be distributed throughout Western Europe with mathematical similarity. The more military production there was from unused facilities the less need would there be for diverting civilian facilities to war purposes. There was hence a need for a realistic attitude towards the economic resources of Western Germany which could supply much of the raw steel and components of weapons, even though it was unwise to permit Germany to manufacture completed weapons. Unless there were a considerable increase in the German contribution to Western rearmament the British Government's decision to increase military production a little under 50 per cent. would barely meet American expectations half-way.

The early belief that increased American spending on its rearmament programme would end the dollar problem was both optimistic and unrealistic. Europe's trading position is in fact bound to deteriorate. She will have to import more dollar goods for rearmament than she anticipated, and she will not be able to export as many dollar goods as she hoped. The Sterling Area and the European dependencies will earn more dollars from the

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sale to the United States of strategic materials such as natural rubber, tin and copper for war industries and for stockpiling, but on balance Europe's dollar gap is more likely to expand than contract as a result of the Korean crisis. American assistance in European rearmament is not regarded as a substitute for Europe's own effort, but as supplementary to it. If Western Europe doubled its defence costs then the United States would be prepared to match that increase by an equal amount of increased military assistance.

The Marshall Plan, at any rate, is not one of the past American policies which is considered to have been a mistake. The economic recovery in Europe over the past two years has become of military value. There has been a 24 per cent. increase in industrial production, a 52 per cent. increase in steel production, a 17 per cent. increase in hard coal, a 21 per cent. increase in electric power. Through its own efforts and American help Western Europe alone now tops the Soviet in steel production with a capacity of 50,000,000 tons annually compared with the Soviet's 31,000,000 tons. But for the Marshall Plan the future of the Western World and of the United States would seem far more precarious.

Mr. Hoffman, the ECA Administrator, has frequently said that the cold war was being fought on four fronts, the economic, the political, the propaganda and the military. Only on the economic front has the performance of the American Government satisfied the critics. There is a Congressional election this November in which the public discontent will be able to find expression. At first it seemed likely that the boldness and determination shown by the President when the Korean crisis broke would bring dividends to the Democratic Party. But now admiration for the way in which

the Administration has rushed to save the country from the raging torrent is tempered by the reflection that after all it may have been this same Administration which pushed it in. The American people do not take kindly to defeats. Fortunately defeats have not led to defeatism, but to a determination to reverse them and to a search for scapegoats. Yet it cannot be predicted that an angry electorate will punish the Democratic Party at the polls by giving Republicans a majority in the House and Senate, because the Republicans, too, must share some of the blame. It was the Republicans who insisted on general budgetary economy, though it was the Administration which carried out economies in the armed services. If the situation in the Far East now attests the sterility of American diplomacy, the Republicans cannot face the electorate with clean hands. Their isolationist wing had proved a constant embarrassment to the Administration in carrying out its policies of strengthening the West.

Domestic politics, on which the Administration was relying for increased Congressional majorities, will play a minor role and the chief interest in November will be foreign affairs and in particular Korea. The handicap under which the Administration must labour is that though the erroneous assumptions which left the country unprepared for the present crisis were not peculiar to the Democratic Party, that party was in power when they were made, would certainly have claimed the credit if things had gone well and must accept the blame when things go badly.

Both the Secretary of Defence, Mr. Johnson, and the Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, are highly vulnerable and cries have been raised for their scalps. But for the Administration to dispense with their services at this

point would be poor political tactics, for it would be tantamount to admitting that the critics were right. The President has, therefore, asserted that as long as he is in the White House they will remain at their posts if they wish. Mr. Johnson boasted, as he slashed the size of the armed forces, that he was trimming away the fat and improving the combat effectiveness. But in the event the United States was shown to lack sufficient tanks, an adequate carrier force and tactical aviation, and even to lack any advance plan of operation. Mr. Johnson's apologists explain that he was thinking of a different kind of war. If Russia had attacked the United States, then the American strategic air force with its load of atomic bombs could have struck back immediately and the full military and civilian mobilisation plans drafted by the National Security Resources Board could have been put into effect overnight. All the country was unprepared for was local war and partial mobilisation. On the basis of major war strategy Korea would have been a liability and not an asset; so no plans were made to defend it.

This may take the Secretary of Defence from the critics' firing line, but it leaves the Secretary of State exposed.

In the background is the accusation that the Korean Communist invasion is but the culminating point of a long series of errors in Far Eastern policy;

it is a symptom of a condition which the State Department had done nothing to cure and apparently had even failed to recognise. There was the Yalta agreement which gave Russia a favourable strategic position on the Asiatic mainland at the expense of China; there was the effort to force Generalissimo Chiang to accept a coalition with the Communists; there was the refusal to follow the advice of General Wedemeyer and give enough military assistance and advice at both the command and supply levels to enable the Nationalist forces to defeat the Communists; and finally there was the decision to abandon Chiang entirely. Then, having created a situation in which Korea was endangered, the State Department shut its eyes to the danger and assumed that Communist subversion was the chief threat, pressed forward with an economic aid programme and opposed giving the Korean army weapons needed to repel attack.

Most electorates are less interested in the past than the future. If the Korean situation improves, the chances of the Democrats will be brighter. Whatever the results policies will not be affected. Newcomers to Congress, be they Democrats or Republicans, will have been elected for the most part because they were considered better able than their opponents to deal with the crisis as required.

DENYS SMITH.

P.R.: A SYMPOSIUM

I. THE LIBERAL CHALLENGE

By THE LADY VIOLET BONHAM CARTER

IT will be generally agreed that the first object of any electoral system in a democracy is to represent, and not to misrepresent, the Electorate.

Elections in this country are (ostensibly) held to return a House of Commons which will reflect, and not distort, frustrate or contradict, the will of the people. Any other assumption would make nonsense of the doctrine of mandate, freely claimed by all Parties as the sanction for their political action when returned to power, and indeed of the very term "self-government."

No one, however, could possibly claim that our present electoral system, whatever its other merits may be, results in representative Government or even in majority rule.

It is a random, haphazard gamble at the mercy of a chapter of accidents.

We know that at the last General Election it took 42,000 votes to return a Socialist or a Conservative, and 291,000 votes to return a Liberal. In 1945 the Conservatives suffered injustice, though not to the same extent as the Liberals, for at that Election it took 29,000 votes to return a Socialist, 47,000 to return a Conservative and 187,000 to return a Liberal.

Nor has the Labour Party been immune. In 1929, with a poll of 8,400,000, they obtained 288 seats. In 1935, polling only 100,000 fewer votes, they obtained 134 fewer seats.

The incalculable caprices of the present system are even more vividly illustrated by the Electoral history of the various districts in the country. In 1923, all five seats in Cornwall were

won by Liberals, the polling being Liberals 65,701 ; Conservatives 49,332 and Labour 2,749.

In 1924 all the five seats were won by Conservatives, the polling being Conservatives 59,996 ; Liberals 51,520 and Labour 11,939. In 1929, they all reverted to the Liberal Party, the polling being Liberals 70,471 ; Conservatives 63,873 and Labour 30,047. Such instances could be multiplied indefinitely.

We have abolished Plural Voting, but we ignore the fact that in many parts of the country great blocks of voters are to-day deprived of any representation. For example, in the counties and boroughs south of the Thames and Severn in 1924, 1,456,000 votes secured 84 Conservative seats, 445,000 produced one Liberal seat, while 483,000 votes secured no Labour representation whatever. In 1935 for that same area, an increase of over half a million votes for the Conservative Party produced 77 seats (plus six M.P.s returned unopposed), an addition of 400,000 votes to the Labour Party still produced no seats at all, whereas a drop in the Liberal vote of 125,000 produced one extra Liberal seat.

There are large areas in which one Party enjoys an absolute and permanent majority of representation, and in which Elections have become a mere ritualistic observance. Conservatives in County Durham or South Wales, Socialists in Sussex, Surrey, Dorset or Oxfordshire, are just as effectively disfranchised as if their names had been struck off the register. Representation is determined by a fortuitous geo-

graphical accident. The place is represented, but not the people in it.

One unfortunate result is the creation of a lop-sided House of Commons. During the last 30 years, the division between the two major Parties has not only been political. It has become geographical, and also to some extent a division of interests. The great majority of Conservatives have represented County and residential constituencies, while an equally large proportion of Labour members have been drawn from the industrial and mining areas. The result is often reflected in the composition of Governments, in Debates, and in the Division lobbies.

Twenty-five years ago the Cabinet was (with one possible exception) entirely composed of representatives of rural and residential constituencies. Today there is no single Cabinet Minister or Minister of Cabinet rank who does not represent a predominantly industrial or mining constituency.

In the old Two-Party days, a straight fight between a Liberal and a Conservative had an element of rough justice, for though it left the minority unrepresented, it did at least give the seat to the candidate who had received the majority of the votes cast. But when, with the rise of the Labour Party, three-cornered fights became the order of the day, the successful candidate could often only claim that he had received more votes than either of his opponents singly—i.e. that he represented only the largest of three minorities.

As Mr. J. F. S. Ross points out in his book, *Parliamentary Representation*: "The effect of the system in a two-party contest is in general merely to exaggerate in the House of Commons the Party majority that exists in the country, but in the three-party contest it gives to a minority in the country, the majority in the House of Commons."

How long are we going to consent to

be governed by the Divine Right of a Minority, operating through the faulty mechanism of an obsolete system designed to meet conditions which no longer exist?

Let us consider, as an instance, its effects upon the present position and future destiny of South Africa. In the South African Election of May, 1948, our British method of Election was exactly used, except that every Member of Parliament was elected in a straight fight, and by a clear majority. There was not a single split vote in the whole Union. Yet a 5-4 vote in favour of Smuts gave a 5-4 majority to Malan (547,437 votes for Smuts gave him 60 seats, 443,338 votes won 78 seats for Malan).

The Government of South Africa has been captured by a minority Party which seeks to break away from the Commonwealth, which had strong pro-Nazi sympathies in the last World War, and which is actively pursuing a policy of racial discrimination and Apartheid.

The South African people did not choose Dr. Malan and his Government. Yet that Government has the power to take the irrevocable step of cutting South Africa loose from the Commonwealth against the wishes of the majority of its people.

Another drawback of the present system is that the elector is often faced with the dilemma of choosing between the Party and the personality he prefers. Unlike the United States, we have no "primary." As a rule the voter tends to subordinate the personal merits or demerits of the candidate to his loyalty to the Party label, and the quality and influence of the individual Member of Parliament suffers in consequence.

As Lord Cecil pointed out a few months ago in his speech in the House of Lords, at the last election every independent voice was silenced. "The individuality of all candidates was sub-

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merged in their membership of one Party or another. . . . The Caucus reigned supreme."

Defenders of the present system argue that though admittedly unrepresentative and unjust, it can at least be trusted to give us a "strong" Government and a decisive majority. But the present result has conclusively disproved this claim. We have a stalemate, a deadlock, and one which may well be reproduced next time.

It is against this background that Mr. Churchill has demanded an enquiry into our electoral system. He has recognised, I think, not merely the injustice it inflicts upon Liberals and other minorities, but also the danger to the Nation of such a grave distortion of the people's will—the danger that we may in the future be governed, not by an arbitrary majority, but by an arbitrary minority.

Mr. Churchill's request for a Select Committee of Enquiry has been turned down flat by the Government, but it has at least directed public attention to an issue which lies at the very root of democratic government, and it has obliged men and women of all Parties to search their own minds.

What is the Liberal remedy ?

In our view the first step should be the creation of larger constituencies returning three, four or five members each. We realise that there are objections to applying this system to widely scattered country districts where it is essential to preserve a close personal relationship between a member and his constituents. These might remain as single-member constituencies using the method of the Alternative Vote.

But constituencies in large towns are often mere arbitrary geographical divisions which have no corporate life or identity of their own. Though fairly politically conscious, I am not myself sure whether I live in North or in South



LADY VIOLET BONHAM CARTER.

(*News Chronicle, Manchester.*)

Paddington, nor am I even aware of the name of the Member who represents me in Parliament—though I believe him to be a Conservative.

There is no reason whatever why the various Members of Parliament for Birmingham, Manchester, Bristol, Bradford, etc., should not represent their city as a whole instead of in separate fragments without sacrificing in any degree their sense of local patriotism and pride.

Within these larger units the system we should apply is Proportional Representation by the single transferable vote (now used by Eire, Malta, Tasmania and by miners, school-teachers and railwaymen in their trade union elections).

This system must not be confused (as it so often is), with the Party List system, bearing the same name, which operates on the Continent and which, by some people, is held responsible for the collapse of representative institutions in many European countries.

In every West European country, except Spain and Portugal, the electors choose between lists of candidates sub-

mitted en bloc by the various Parties. The voter has no opportunity to discriminate between personalities or between shades of opinion within a Party. This system has increased the power of the Caucus.

The system of the single transferable vote would have exactly the opposite effect. The chance of appealing to a wider public would strengthen the hand of the individual against the machine, and the opportunity of choosing between several different candidates of the same Party would give the voter a wider scope for personal choice.

At present the average Elector has little or no say in the selection of his candidate. He may have to choose between voting for a dud with the right Party ribbon tied round his neck, or for a man of real distinction carrying the wrong colours. Even within the boundaries of his own Party, a Labour Moderate may be forced to vote for Mr. Aneurin Bevan or a Progressive Conservative for Sir Waldron Smithers.

To sum up :

(1) Under P.R. it will no longer be possible for a minority to defeat a majority.

(2) Members of higher individual quality and greater independence will be returned to the House of Commons.

(3) There will be no "wasted" votes, for every vote that is cast will count. And more people will use their votes if they are assured that they can influence the result. Any system which renders a vote valueless must create apathetic voters.

(4) There will be no "split" votes. The split vote, to which all our present troubles are attributed, is not the cause but the result of our present electoral system.

(5) Above all, the House of Commons would be a true reflection of the people's will. A General Election would no longer falsify and frustrate

the wishes of the Electorate as it is now liable to do at any time.

Liberals have suffered more than any other Party from our present grossly unrepresentative system. The dice are so heavily loaded against them that it is computed (by Mr. R. B. McCallum) that, while very little change is needed to cause a "landslide" between the two leading Parties, the transfer of three-quarters of a million votes to the Liberal Party would only give them half a dozen extra seats. The heaviest sacrifice Liberals of my generation have had to make for their faith has been their virtual exclusion from the House of Commons—to the detriment of our public life and the good government of the country.

A political system which provides no means of expression for a faith as live, as distinctive and as passionately held as Liberalism stands self-condemned.

But it may have even graver results in store for the nation. We cannot rule out the possibility that in the future some great organic change may be forced through the House of Commons by a fortuitous Parliamentary majority, owing its power to a minority of the Electors and riding roughshod over the will of the majority in the country. Here indeed would be a dangerous challenge to our unwritten Constitution.

Advocates of "strong Government" may legitimately argue that paternal government, oligarchy and even dictatorship are more efficient systems than democracy. But for those who reject these alternatives it is surely dishonest to profess faith in democratic rule, and then to acquiesce in a system which threatens to undermine its very foundations.

To-day we have Government of the people ; opinions may differ whether it is for the people, but no one can pretend that it is by the people.

VIOLET BONHAM CARTER.

II. A SOCIALIST COMMENT

By ROY JENKINS, M.P.

THE case for Electoral Reform (in the sense of abandoning the system of the single transferable vote in the single-member constituency) has never been of sufficient strength to command the active support of a major political party except on grounds of the most blatant self-interest. The Labour Party played with many such schemes when it was the third Party, and thought that they might help it more quickly to become the first or second. It helped to carry an alternative vote proposal through the House of Commons in 1931, but only because it was forced on it as the price of continuing Liberal support for the Government. The Liberal Party itself showed no interest in the subject in the days when it had the power to carry proposals into law (and did not therefore need to do so), and the growth of its passionate support for a reformed system of election has kept close step with the increase in the ratio between its own ability to poll votes and to win seats. Nor would it be easy to pretend that the Conservative Party's conversion to a change, hinted at by Mr. Churchill last March, was unconnected with its urgent need for Liberal electoral support.

It is certainly not always the case that Parties are moved solely by self-interest in their approach to constitutional issues. The Labour Party carried through the 1948 Representation of the People Act, which undoubtedly cost it many seats and, in the view of at least one independent observer, has introduced a permanent electoral bias against it, despite opposition at all stages; and other examples could be cited. It is therefore a serious count against the various schemes of Electoral Reform

that their appeal should have been limited so closely to those whom they could immediately benefit. It suggests that all political Parties have realised, at one time or another, that a more accurate mirroring of the political feelings of the nation could only be bought at the expense of a less desirable system of Government. Whether or not they have been prepared to pay this price has depended on their own immediate needs.

What are the undesirable consequences which might be expected, in the present-day circumstances of Britain, to follow from the introduction of a measure of Electoral Reform? Partly, of course, they would depend upon the nature of the reform introduced. But it may be taken that, for practical purposes, consideration need be given only to the Alternative Vote in a single-member constituency and the Single Transferable Vote in the multi-member constituency. Proportional Representation on the list system, even though it is far more widely practised than is the Single Transferable Vote, is not, one gathers, seriously advocated in England to-day.

The device of the Alternative Vote is a rather ineffective half-way house. It would not ensure that a minority of votes in the country would not command a majority of seats in the House of Commons. It would not solve the problem of the representation of a body of voters who were spread over the country in such a way as to be nearly always a good third to the other two parties, but almost never anything more. It would do away with the "minority member"; but as, in the great majority of cases, it would do so

by making the same man into a "majority member," this would not be a very exciting development. It might also make it somewhat easier for electors to give their first choices to third and fourth Party candidates without feeling that they were wasting their votes. But the preponderance of the two major Parties is such that this might well not lead to a substantially more fissiparous House of Commons.

Indeed, the danger might be quite the reverse; the only second preferences worth having, in the great majority of cases, would be those of the eliminated Liberal candidate, and the political position of the Liberal Party is such that it is likely, on balance, to be more favourable to the Opposition of the day than to the Government. Its strong tendency has been to be pro-Labour in 1929, 1935 and 1945, and pro-Tory in 1931 and 1950. Under our existing electoral law this has produced sensational results only once—in 1931, when the Liberals were in actual alliance with the Tories. Under a system in which the Alternative Vote operated, comparable results might be obtained on most occasions, with Government majorities of 400 the order of the day. These violent oscillations and high majorities, destructive of the effective working of Parliament, would be the result, not of any real shift of opinion in the country, but of a Liberal recoil from the reality of either of the other two Parties in power, or of a Liberal bargain with the Opposition. The modifying factor might be the inability of the Parliamentary Liberal Party to deliver to the chosen recipients the second preferences of Liberal voters. But this inability would be much less marked with the Alternative Vote, with the Liberal constituency organisations remaining in being and Liberal candidates continuing to stand, than with the existing system where a bargain would

involve the withdrawal of candidates and the disbanding or amalgamation of organisations.

Such would be the results of the introduction of the Alternative Vote. The benefits which it would bring could hardly be regarded, even by the most ardent electoral reformer, as of striking importance. Its disadvantages would be increased opportunities for "horse-trading" between the Parties and a greater tendency for Oppositions to be very small and Government majorities to be very large.

The introduction of a system of Proportional Representation, based on the single transferable vote, would bring, from the point of view of the reformers, much greater benefits. It would also bring much greater evils. It would end, not only the problem of the minority member, but also, in theory, that of the minority Government (although one may ask, in passing, how it is that a variant of this system has produced in France, in the past year or so, a series of Governments which may well have commanded the support of no more than 20 per cent. of the electorate, a feat which the "grossly distorting" British system has never remotely rivalled?). It would enable the evenly spread strength of the third (or fourth or fifth) Party to secure adequate representation, and it would certainly give to some voters an opportunity of supporting a man who more closely represented their exact point of view than is at present the case.

Some of these developments, at least, would be substantially beneficial. They could be rejected only because of attendant disadvantages and not because of intrinsic undesirability. But there would be no lack of such disadvantages. The first and most obvious would be the breaking of the bond which at present exists between the single-member constituency and its one

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representative. There could be no such bond between eight members and a division which was eight times as large. And the problem of the relations between a member and his seven colleagues, particularly those of the same Party, might be very difficult. All but the most high-minded would be thinking frequently of their relative positions at the next elections, of the number of first preferences which each might attract, and the opportunity for a member, who chose wholly to subordinate national to local issues and grossly to neglect his Parliamentary duties in order to concentrate on local work, to force his colleagues into roughly the same groove, might be considerable.

Would the system not also tend to create a new and highly undesirable hierarchy amongst members? Might it not be difficult for the Prime Minister to choose for promotion the fifteenth Member for Glasgow, who scraped in mainly on fourth and fifth preferences, after securing only 4,000 first preferences, instead of the much less well-qualified first Member, who polled 480,000 first preferences?

More serious than all this is the effect which the introduction of this, or another, system of Proportional Representation would have on the balance of Party strength. Whether or not it would lead to a multiplication of the number of Parties in existence is open to argument. The evidence from other countries is conflicting. But what is clear is that the number of seats which already-existing small Parties might expect to obtain would be greatly increased. If this were not so, what would become of the positive case for Proportional Representation? All talk about the under-representation of minorities and the distorting effects of the present system would be shown to be meaningless. If, on the other hand, it



ROY JENKINS.

(Elliott & Fry Ltd.)

is so, then it can hardly be disputed that the new system would make the formation of majority one-Party Governments much more difficult. Only twice in the whole of the inter-war period, after the exceptional elections of 1918 and 1931, would any one Party or existing alliance of Parties have been able to secure a majority in a proportionally elected Parliament.

Here we are face to face with an issue of principle. Is it more desirable that Parliament should be as exact as possible a mirror of the state of political feeling in the country, or that, confining its reflecting function to the picking out of the dominating shapes and colours, it should be an efficient instrument for the choice and sustenance of as strong a Government as is compatible with democratic accountability? There cannot be any demonstrably correct answer to this question. One's choice is bound to be, to a large extent, a subjective choice. But it is important that the advocates of Proportional Representation should face the fact that such a choice has to be made; and that

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they should also appreciate that, if they make the first choice, they are decisively turning their backs on the recent (*i.e.*, post 1868) British tradition, and asking us to enter an era of perpetual loose coalitions (an alliance entered into after an election, to suit the exigencies of a particular Parliament is a very different thing from a joint fighting arrangement), with a Party's election policy forming not a programme for action but a basis for bargaining.

Governments, in these circumstances, are likely to be not only weak and incoherent, but also unstable and short-lived. Certainly the experience of outside Liberal support for the Labour Government of 1924 and 1929 and inside Liberal support for the National Government of 1931 does not suggest that, if we created similar conditions for ourselves, our Governments would necessarily be much longer-lived than those of France.

These are some of the disadvantages of a new system. Are the disadvantages of the existing system as great as is sometimes suggested? Is the will of

the electorate seriously frustrated? Surely what the country desires (and probably needs) are alternating periods of advance and consolidation—which is what it gets. Surely the replacement of the Liberal Party by the Labour Party is clear evidence that, if the advance offered is not at the speed or in the direction required, the system is not too rigid to prevent this being corrected. Surely, too, there is every indication that minority interests on a multitude of subjects find expression through the mouths of representatives of one of the two great Parties. The reverse side of the coin is that both electors and politicians have to undergo the self-discipline of continually accepting a *pisaller*. The elector votes for a candidate who is not quite his choice. The politician supports and advocates a policy which is not in all respects to his liking. In a perfect world this might be a serious disadvantage. In the world of reality it is so much the inevitable stuff of politics as to be a not very significant objection.

ROY JENKINS.

III. THE CONSERVATIVE ATTITUDE

By REGINALD MAUDLING, M.P.

OUR present Electoral System has been well tested by experience. It is a system characteristically British, simple, clear-cut, and well-known, that through the years has been woven into the texture of our national life. It has been part and parcel of our Parliamentary system of government, and that system has been, and still remains, a model to the world of how liberty and order can be combined to sustain a democratic way of life. It follows that any case for Electoral Reform that is put forward must be based on very strong theoretical grounds if it is in any way to disturb the practical arguments from experience: and the arguments for Electoral Reform must be based on theory, so far, at any rate, as this country is concerned, though it is true that examples can be and are frequently adduced from experience in the Commonwealth and in foreign countries, both to prove and to disprove the case for reform.

I think it is fair to say that the main case against the present system is that it is unfair. In other words, it is held that our present system does not accurately reflect the point of view of the electorate as a whole, and that in particular it gives far too little opportunity to minority parties. This is the argument so far as the country as a whole is concerned. Within each constituency, the argument is that in many cases where there is a three-cornered contest, an M.P. is returned on a minority vote, when, in many cases, in a straight fight he might not have been successful. A great deal of statistical

backing for these two arguments can be derived from the results of the last two Elections.

Clearly, in the first place, the composition of the House of Commons has on neither occasion reflected the political convictions of the country as a whole with any great degree of exactness. In 1945, the Socialist majority in the House of Commons was out of all proportion to their majority—if any—in voting strength. In 1950, the Socialists were returned as the strongest party, and still manage to control the House of Commons by a small margin over all other parties combined, although there was a substantial anti-Socialist majority in the country's voting taken as a whole. In both Elections, there is no doubt that it took very many more votes to elect a Liberal than to elect a Socialist or a Conservative. Finally, on either occasion, a number of Members have been returned on a minority vote in three- or four-cornered contests, when it is likely that in some cases they would not have been returned in a straight fight—though the effect of the Liberal intervention as a whole in 1950 is very much open to dispute, and any attempts to produce general conclusions valid for the whole country are bound to fail.

I would not attempt to deny that the case for Electoral Reform, based on the desire to make the strength of the parties in Parliament more approximate to their voting strength in the country is a strong one in theory. It appears to have justice and equity on its side. But I am far from being con-

vinced that in practice it would be for the benefit of the country to make any change in our present system.

Let us look, first of all, at the possible effects of Electoral Reform, be it Proportional Representation or some form of Alternative Vote, on the House of Commons. If the intentions of the proposers are fulfilled, the result must be to lead to stronger representation of minority groups. This, it seems to me, must lead to splinter parties, and a proliferation of political groups. Experience abroad, and more particularly in France, if viewed dispassionately, cannot fail to connect Proportional Representation with the multiplicity of Parties, and the multiplicity of Parties in turn with constant Cabinet changes and behind the scene bargaining, and the absence of settled and determined government.

I myself am inclined to believe that in the long run it would be a bad thing for the country if the division of political opinion in the Electorate were too accurately reflected in the House of Commons. It is well known that the percentage of the Electorate that changes its party allegiance from one election to another is fairly small. The great blocks, both of Labour and Conservative voters, remain constant. The margin of votes accorded to the winning party in any particular election is small in relation to the total Electorate, and an Electoral System which more accurately reflected this voting strength in Parliament would be bound to result in much narrower Government majorities.

This would be a bad thing for our system of government. It would inhibit action and put compromise in the place of principle. Already, in the last few months, we have seen the manifold disadvantages of a narrow Parliamentary majority. To have good government, you must also have settled

government. I myself much prefer a system whereby whichever party happens to gain a majority at an election gains thereby a working majority in the House of Commons, subject to two qualifications: first, the maintenance of our Two-Chamber Constitution, and the possibility of recourse to the Electorate at fairly frequent intervals; and second, the maintenance of our present climate of public and political opinion, which rejects extremes and makes it possible for government to pass from one party to another without the whole social and economic fabric of the country being undermined. We have an immense tradition in this country of running things on a basis which looks illogical, but, in fact, works very well in practice. This is part and parcel of our tradition of political common sense and toleration, and is one of the principal reasons why any system of Proportional Representation is peculiarly unsuited to our requirements.

So much for the effect of Electoral Reform on the Parliamentary position. This may, at first sight, appear the most important factor. But it is very easy to underrate the immense importance of the relations between the individual Member and his constituents. It is this personal contact, the feeling of personal responsibility on the part of the Member, and the feeling of right of appeal to a particular individual M.P. on the part of a constituent, which provides the fundamental safeguard of our free constitution. Anything which tends to weaken the link between the Member and his constituents should be strenuously resisted. So far as I can understand, the various systems of Electoral Reform put forward in most cases involve weakening this link. Constituencies are already quite big enough for any single Member to handle, with the immense volume of

"The Conservative Attitude"

public business that is nowadays heaped upon his purely local responsibilities. Any proposal for grouping or enlarging constituencies would be a retrograde step. Similarly, proposals for an alternative vote seem to me to weaken the personal link. I believe it is the instinct of the British elector to choose his man and to put his trust in him. These other methods of election put far too little weight on the selection of the individual candidate, and far too much on choice of the various Party programmes in descending order of attraction.

Finally, there is the question of simplicity in operation. Nothing can be simpler than the system of one man one vote. Yet, even this system, simple as it is, is sometimes difficult to make clear to all who have the right to vote. Most suggestions for Electoral Reform involve introducing new complications, and I believe that the instinct of the British people would be strongly against innovations of this kind.

To sum up, my point of view is this. Proportional Representation or other similar schemes of Electoral Reform could enable us to have a House of Commons whose composition would more accurately reflect the voting in the country as a whole. To carry this to its logical conclusion, complete accuracy could be obtained by turning the whole country into one constituency and allotting the seats to candidates on



REGINALD MAUDLING.

(Keystone.)

party lists in accordance with the total vote recorded for that party throughout the country. This would be logical, but it would be a very bad way of running our Parliamentary democracy. There are many things in which logic must give way to practical experience, and this is one. Too much accuracy, too much logic in our Electoral system would both make stable government in the long run impossible, and destroy those close and intimate ties between Member and constituents upon which, in the last resort, the defence of individual rights against the State must depend.

REGINALD MAUDLING.

Farm and Garden

"WE EAT TO LIVE—WHO KNOWS? PERCHANCE TO DIE"

From the Film, *The Cycle of Life*

By LADY EVE BALFOUR

THE news is welcome that a committee is to be set up to investigate the cause and prevention of death among the operators of poison sprays. It would be still more welcome news if the committee's terms of reference covered the taking of evidence on the long term effects on the populations of sprayed areas and on the consumers of the sprayed crops, as well as evidence from those who find the use of such sprays unnecessary. I mentioned last month the ban that has been imposed in the U.S.A. on the use of D.D.T. as a spray for food crops, whether as food for direct human consumption or as cattle fodder crops. In the latter case the poison has been found to pass from the fodder through the cow's digestive system and so into the milk, and it is through the milk that human beings have been poisoned.

The poison spray which has caused the setting up of the present committee of inquiry is D.N.O.C. Death can be very rapid if adequate protective clothing is not worn, and operators are also advised always to spray with a cross wind. What of other human beings or animals that may happen to be to windward particularly where spraying by helicopter is practised? I know of a case in Norfolk where clothes hanging on a drying line, half a mile away from the field that was being so

sprayed, were completely ruined by fine particles of spray which burnt holes in them. I also have it on good authority that in the same district of Norfolk a certain type of sickness has become very prevalent. It takes a form closely resembling milk symptoms of D.N.O.C. poisoning — profuse sweating, and general lack of appetite and energy.

The *British Medical Journal* recently published an article warning agricultural workers of the dangers of D.N.O.C. and other poisonous compounds. In it occurs this sentence—"The wider use of dangerous materials should make the countryman aware of the new dangers he must face in the modern world." This view is endorsed in an official statement issued after a recent conference held by the Ministry with representatives of the N.F.U., the T.U.C., the Agricultural Workers' Union, the Association of British Insecticide Manufacturers, the Association of Agricultural Contractors, and various Government departments. The statement includes the following: "There was a full discussion of the safety problems occasioned by the *necessity* and increasing use in agriculture of insecticides and weed killers" (*italics mine*).

Have we gone mad? Why do we assume that such dangers are an

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integral part of the "modern world"? Why do we accept without a protest the view that increasing use of such lethal poisons in agriculture is a necessity?

Every good farmer knows that the best weed control is a heavy crop, induced by proper rotations and good cultivations. The "increasing need" for weed killers is thus a confession of widespread bad farming. The excuse is that labour is not available nowadays to carry out proper cultivations. If this were the whole story the deduction would be that an inherent characteristic of the "modern world" (see above) was that mankind preferred to be slowly poisoned than to allocate a sufficient proportion of his species to growing healthy food. But the whole story does not lie in labour difficulties, although these admittedly exist.

From time to time it is part of my job as Organising Secretary of the Soil Association to visit organically-run holdings, both agricultural and horticultural, up and down the country. On such holdings, and they range from a few acres to over 1,000 acres, I find, again and again, that poison sprays are neither used nor required. There is surely something here that should give us cause for reflection. The official attitude to these oases of health, which is to ignore them or to pretend they do not exist, or that if they exist they have nothing to teach us, is the attitude of the proverbial ostrich, and, as the Chairman of the Midland Bank said in another connection, "It has not yet been determined for how long an ostrich can retain its head in the sand without irreparable damage to the bird."

These holdings, where pest control exists without sprays, are dotted about

in the midst of areas where an increasing use of such sprays is said to be necessary. Why?

Many half answers to this question have been put forward. For example, from the incontrovertible fact that natural biological processes are many times more efficient than any man-made substitute, it is argued that pest control through the various predators is more efficient than poisons, which destroy the predators along with the pests. I have also heard it stated, and by a member of a firm of spraying contractors at that, that the effect of the spray policy appears to be to breed immune varieties of pests, since only the more resistant members of the species survive, hence the need for ever more and more lethal compounds. It is also argued that organic plant feeding gives the plant itself a greater resistance to attack. All these theories, and many more besides, are contained in the simple proposition, frequently put forward in these articles, that the nutrition cycle is not a chemical but a biological one, based on a complex system of inter-dependence of species.

My personal experience has led me irresistibly to the conclusion that a constructive approach, to find out the best means of maintaining the vital nutrition flow, offers a far better chance of success in solving our agricultural and health problems than the present negative policy based on a purely destructive approach.

It is a long overdue study of the nutrition cycle, on a field scale, which has been undertaken by the Soil Association. Any readers who are interested can write to me for further particulars, c/o *The National and English Review*.

EVE B. BALFOUR.

THE COLORADO BEETLE

By GEORGE GODWIN

THE history of the Colorado beetle demonstrates in a painful way the dangers inherent in the neglect of local crop infestations. In 1824 the beetle was first found in Upper Missouri. It appeared as a local infestation, and though its powers of destruction of the potato plant were apparent, no prophylactic action was taken.

The Colorado beetle is a swarming insect capable of long, sustained flights of three hundred miles or more—a fact of natural history not known when the pest first made its appearance in the Upper Missouri country. Consequently, what had been at first a small localised infestation, well within the range of methods then in use, by 1859 had become a national problem; for in that year the entire potato crop of the United States was ruined by this voracious and fast-propagating insect.

Though butterflies have been known to cross the Atlantic, there is no evidence that the Colorado beetle has performed that feat. It made its first appearance in Great Britain in 1877, when it was traced, via an incoming cattle boat, from Texas. Since then this devourer of the potato plant has caused damage in nearly every potato-growing country in Europe.

In Great Britain the danger of the Colorado beetle was recognised from the first. Soon after its appearance at Liverpool an Order in Council was passed providing "that it shall not be lawful for any person to sell, keep or distribute living specimens of the Colorado beetle in any stage."

Despite that prohibition, there have been no less than fifteen outbreaks in

Great Britain during the present century, the worst of these occurring during the last decade, 1947, 1948 and 1949 being the most extensive and wide-spread. It is significant that the first two outbreaks in this country in this century, that of 1901 and 1933, originated at Tilbury, near London's docks. And sites of subsequent outbreaks support the view that the southern English countryside is exposed to recurrent infestation, both by contaminated cargoes and by direct flight infestation from the continental mainland of Europe.

The evidence in both cases is conclusive. Specimens have been found in arriving cargoes; and great numbers of the insects have been washed ashore, brought down by adverse winds, though not drowned by long immersion. In some coastal towns the school-children have been enlisted to gather up the Colorado beetle beach crop; and flame-throwers have also been used to destroy the insects before they have revived. Belgium has adopted this latter method on a considerable scale.

The Ministry of Agriculture has from the first appreciated the danger of this small and beautiful beetle. In 1947, when the worst outbreak occurred, the Ministry built up an extensive organisation to carry out field-scale precautionary spraying and dusting of potato crops in areas defined as most liable to infestation. In that year 10,000 acres were treated, and in 1948 and 1949 some 30,000 acres.

But an enemy who flies, and who has, it is believed, discovered the aeroplane as a mode of transport, cannot be

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efficiently tackled by methods purely local or national. The idea of international control originated with our own Ministry, and in 1947, on its initiative, a meeting was held in Brussels which was attended by representatives of France, Belgium, Italy, Holland, Luxembourg and the States of Jersey. Since the materials and machinery for thorough-going spraying over all agricultural areas deemed vulnerable, was not then available (nor are they now), a scheme of protective zones was adopted. These were defined by national frontiers and were to be regarded as twenty-five kilometres in depth. Thus about each participating country a defence in depth to fifty kilometres was established. This method threw upon each country concerned the treatment of its problem, free of infestation from abroad.

The spraying programme under this scheme provided for more than 500,000 hectares of potato crops, say a million and a quarter acres. This direct attack was reinforced by a very extensive propaganda campaign to arouse the agricultural community to the menace of the beetle. Throughout the zoned areas weather stations were set up from which broadcast warnings of winds and weather propitious for beetle swarm flights were sent out.

The success of these methods led to the International Colorado Beetle Committee, which was formed at Berne, following an international conference there in 1948, attended by no less than twenty-four countries.

A few weeks ago the reality of the menace was brought home to the authorities anew by the appearance of air-borne Colorado beetles in the Channel Isles. These invaders were promptly dealt with; and their appearance gave an impetus to the general campaign against the beetle throughout the southern counties. This prophyl-

lactic drive of spraying and dusting will cover 29,000 acres of south-east England, thirty-three spraying and dusting machines, and over sixty lorries being engaged on the work.

The Colorado beetle is not difficult to destroy. It has no protective waxy covering, like the mealy bug that infests the vine. But it lays its eggs in clutches on the under side of the potato leaf, and propagates at so fast a rate that half measures are useless against it. An average female will lay between 200 and 300 eggs during the season, and three generations are achieved between May and October. A single beetle eats, it is estimated, thirty-five leaves in its short life-time, and this probably does not take into account the destruction wrought by the grubs which also feed upon the leaves.

The chief chemicals used to-day for the destruction of the beetle are calcium arsenate, lead arsenate, D.D.T., toxaphene and similar insecticides. The essential problem is not method, but application, for speed is imperative. But even speed is no certain remedy, since reinfestation may make multiple treatment of both crops and land necessary.

For example, the potato crop of the Moselle area had been sprayed six times already by June 15, 1948, reinfestation by swarming beetles making repeated onslaughts upon them necessary. To go through the performance of spraying large areas of land five or six times may sound a somewhat tall order. Yet what is the alternative? It is to leave unchecked insects that multiply at a horrific rate and whose only food is the leaf of man's most valuable root crop.

Precautionary spraying this summer will cover 29,000 acres of potato crops in Kent, Surrey, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Middlesex, Essex and Suffolk. Every field crop of potatoes in these

areas has been first plotted on a six-inch to the mile map and assigned a reference number. Through the National Farmers' Union, and by way of the local press, the Ministry appeals to farmers to plant their potatoes at standard row widths: this lessens the risk of damage and speeds up spraying time. In addition to this prophylactic work of precautionary spraying, a thorough inspection of all potato crops along the south coast from Southampton to Harwich will be carried out this summer; particular attention being

paid to crops within half a mile of wharves and quays where vessels from continental countries are likely to berth.

These are aspects of an anti-Colorado beetle campaign that was launched this early summer by Lord Huntingdon, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture, when he attended in Richmond Park a demonstration of the scientific methods developed at Farnhurst Research Station.

GEORGE GODWIN.

ADA LEVERSON, WILDE & "MAX"

By SIR OSBERT SITWELL, Bt.

This is the second of two extracts from the fifth and final volume of Sir Osbert Sitwell's autobiography "Left Hand! Right Hand!" which will be published this month by Messrs. Macmillan under the title of "Noble Essences."

ADA LEVERSON! The name still lingers in the minds of older readers as that of a wit. By the early years of the century, her several novels were very popular with a small circle. At their best, they seem the forerunner of Ronald Firbank, and are inhabited by an exquisite and even morbid absurdity. All her work was, as she wished it to be, light, but lightest and brightest of all was the preface she contributed to a collection of letters to her from Oscar Wilde.* This little essay is full of wit

and of feeling. Even more than her books, her personality, however, deserves a tribute, and I write of her here, not only for those reasons, or because, from 1920 until her death in August, 1936, she was so loyal and devoted a friend to me, but also because through her instrumentality I met several of those who had been figures in her epoch. She was loyal to her friends and would decline to credit ill to anyone she liked or thought talented: in this resembling her mother, who at the time of the Wilde trials used to say, "I do not understand anything about it, but I do not believe a word against him. He is a most charming and delightful man . . ."

Sphinx had first met Wilde, she told me, through an anonymous parody she had written of *Dorian Gray*. This

* *Letters to the Sphinx from Oscar Wilde and Reminiscences of the Author* by Ada Leverson, and with a note of explanation by Robert Ross. Issued by Duckworth, in an edition limited to 275 copies, of which 250 were for sale in 1930. Reprinted in *The New Savoy*, 1946.

ADA LEVERSON, WILDE AND "MAX"

skit had attracted his attention, and had amused him. He had written to the author, who had suggested a meeting, and when this took place, Wilde had been amazed to find it was a woman who entered the room. Before long, she had become one of his intimate circle; he often dined with her and her husband at their house, 2 Courtfield Gardens, or they would have supper together at Willis's. But it is plain from his letters to her that her talent for caricature in words had rendered his friends a little suspicious of her, so that when the anonymous *The Green Carnation* came out in 1894, some of them at first hazarded that it was by her hand. She possessed many letters and telegrams from Wilde, and always maintained that he stood head and shoulders above all his contemporaries in respect of being a master of the wire as a literary medium. It was her intention to edit and bring out a book, entitled *The Collected Telegrams of Oscar Wilde*. . . . She used to tell many stories of him. One I remember, because she gave it as an instance both of his kindness and of his use of the mock-pompous to make nonsense, by saying something that sounded right when said, but in reality meant nothing. They had gone together to a concert of his own songs given by Isidore de Lara, whose execrable music, good looks and manner of singing had already irresistibly appealed for some years to the fashionable public. But on this occasion, for some reason or other, the hall was nearly empty. Failure hovered with sable wings over the composer's head, and it made Sphinx, who liked him, feel unhappy at the idea of having to go up at the end to congratulate him. She could not think of anything to say, yet it was impossible to slink out without a personal greeting. But Wilde made it easy for her. Approaching

Lara with a tremendous air of patronage, he puffed out his chest, and said portentously, emphasising certain words very heavily, "Isidore de Lara. *Your greatest failure will always be greater than my greatest success.* For there will invariably be present *Mrs. Leverson and myself!*"

If Wilde first liked Sphinx for the things she said, she had provided him later with very solid reasons, both for gratitude and affection. He had sent her a ticket for a box for the first night of *The Importance of Being Earnest*, on February 14, 1895. She took to it Aubrey Beardsley and his sister Mabel, and other friends of hers and the author's. This was Wilde's supreme moment of success, and his last great outing. Within a few weeks it was followed by the terrible climax and nadir of his life. On April 5 he was arrested. Who else among his friends would have done for him what Ada Leverson did then? In her book she mentions it almost casually. The disagreement of the jury after the first trial, which ended on May 1, had left Wilde free for some three weeks, but since in London people talked of nothing but this scandal, and since the papers at home, and even abroad, were full of it, naturally enough the hotels and clubs refused to receive him. Even friends who, not so many days before, had almost fought with each other for the honour and pleasure of his company, now knew him no longer.

He was [the author tells us] like a hunted stag, with no place to find refuge. . . . He seemed so unhappy with his family at this time that we asked him to stay with us, feeling that he would be more at ease with friends than with relatives . . . we called all the servants together, parlourmaid, housemaid, cook, kitchen-maid, and our old nurse, Mrs. Field, who acted as my maid. We told them who was coming,

offering them a month's wages if they wished to leave at once. Each servant in turn refused. . . .

Sphinx then went to fetch Wilde in a pill-box brougham. Since her little boy was in the country, the nursery in Courtfield Gardens stood empty, and Wilde was secreted there, among the dappled rocking-horses and golliwogs. In this singular retreat he remained, receiving his few loyal friends, while the rest of the world raged at him, and wondered where he could be. To avoid causing his host and hostess embarrassment, he observed certain rules. Breakfast, luncheon and tea he had in the nursery: from which he did not emerge until six o'clock, when he came down elaborately dressed for dinner, with a flower in his buttonhole. He would then talk to Sphinx for a couple of hours in the drawing-room: but he was very careful never to discuss his trouble before her, but instead treated enchantingly, she says, of many subjects, of books, of art, of the effect of absinthe-drinking and of taking of drugs, or else he would improvise prose poems, or relate incidents from his life. . . . So he stayed, until the morning he left the house for his second trial, which opened on May 22, 1895.

After that, she did not see him for two years: but, on his release, she and her husband went to meet him in Bloomsbury, at the house of the Rev. Stuart Headlam. It was very early, on a cold May morning, and five or six friends had gathered in the drawing-room, furnished in the esthetic style—the kind of room which Wilde had done so much to popularise some 15 years before, but of which he had long ago tired, though this apartment with its pictures by Rossetti and Burne-Jones was beautiful enough in its way. Those who were waiting felt intensely nervous: they suffered, she says, “from the

English fear of showing our feelings, and at the same time the human fear of not showing our feelings.” But Wilde on his entry had quickly dispersed these nervous apprehensions. “He came in talking, laughing, smoking a cigarette, with waved hair and a flower in his buttonhole. . . . His first words were, ‘Sphinx, how marvelous of you to know exactly the right hat to wear at seven o'clock in the morning to meet a friend who has been away. You can't have got up! You must have sat up.’” (Sphinx, in her account of this occasion, remarks also how much better he looked: and Robert Ross, I remember, told me the same thing, but added that the Governor of the prison had said to him, “He looks well: but like all men unused to manual labour who receive a sentence of this kind, he will be dead within two years.”) He wrote to her the next day, a letter from Dieppe, in which he said:

DEAR SPHINX,

I was so charmed with seeing you yesterday morning that I must write a line to tell you how sweet and good it was of you to be the very first to greet me. When I think that Sphinxes are minions of the moon, and that you got up early before dawn, I am filled with wonder and joy. . . .

I had made it my business to ask several masters of the art—including “Max”—whom they considered the greatest conversationalist they had ever heard, and all—with one exception, Sickert, who demurred, and observed that it was easy to obtain a laugh if you carried your claque round with you wherever you went—named Oscar Wilde. The others, each of them, maintained that he was in this respect without an equal, that his talk possessed a range, a poetry, a wit, a power of fantasy lacking altogether in that of anyone else; that, in addition, it was

never a monologue, and that—a feat Robert Ross accomplished in later days for our generation—in his presence every man shone with an equal brilliance, and when he left, went away with the comfortable conviction that himself had been the fiery and scintillant core of the talk. The vocal tones and inflections of many great talkers derive from Wilde: and thus they go even further back: for Ada Leverson in her book tells us that, in the matter of vocal emphasis, he had adopted the tradition of Swinburne.

Sphinx first introduced me to "Max" in London in the spring of 1923, when he was paying London one of his then rare visits, during which he executed his first caricature of my brother and me; a drawing which is now in my possession. In the winter of the following year I saw more of him, for we were in Rapallo, and Sphinx would sometimes take my brother and me to have luncheon with Lady Beerbohm and "Max" at the Villino Chiara, about a mile outside the town. I was younger then and did not count time as I do now, but I have often thought since then of the drawings and of the writings that he might have executed and that were lost to us, and to others, by our visits. On the other hand, on the credit side, we gained the conversation and, I hope, the friendship of our host, and he drew one or two caricatures of my brother and me. We would arrive usually at about 12.30 for luncheon—always the most delicious of meals, but especially if cooked by our hostess, who had among her other remarkable talents a great and unexpected gift in this direction—and often stay until after five. This was, indeed, a difficult house to leave willingly: moreover, as well as being a model of wit, distilling in conversation the rarest essence out of the most ordinary subjects, our

host was, and is, a model of courtesy and patience, from whom there was much, in those long, light-hearted afternoons, passed between sea and mountain, to learn. (The sun seemed always on these days to be out, and to stand still.) He appeared for example, though most trenchant in opinion, never to allow himself to be ruffled. He would sit there, on his terrace, calmly, with a glass of red wine in one hand, observing the world with his large, round-lidded, rather frighteningly luminous round blue eyes. From this remote—as it might seem—vantage point, he saw a great deal—much more than those who hustled themselves about in the cities. Thus one day, when Mussolini was still a popular figure with English visitors, I recall asking "Max" what he had thought of the dictator, who had, not long before, passed down the road beneath the villa. "My impression," he replied, "was of a larger and darker Horatio Bottomley."

On another occasion, at the time of Thomas Hardy's death, so that it must have been early in January, 1928, I was shown up, before luncheon, to his study on the roof-terrace. The papers had lately been full of the ceremonies that were to take place in Westminster Abbey in a few days' time, when the ashes of the dead great man—all but his heart—were to be interred there. As I looked at my host's writing-table, I could not but observe that he had drawn on the blotting-paper peculiarly vivid caricatures—executed, I thought, with real pleasure in his work—of the principal pall-bearers, who, if I remember rightly, numbered among them, Shaw, Galsworthy, Sir Edmund Gosse and Sir James Barrie. It seemed a waste to have done such exquisite work on such paper, and I mentioned this, and added that Barrie always seemed to be to the fore in

literary obsequies. In reply "Max" then told me that he had attended Meredith's funeral, which had been largely organised by Barrie. "As I left," he went on, "a young woman rushed up to me, crying 'Mr. Barrie, Mr. Barrie—you are Mr. Barrie, aren't you?—will you write something for

me in my autograph-book. Here it is!' . . . I know it was in poor taste; I said nothing, but when I took the volume, my pen ran away with me, and I wrote, 'Ay, Lassie! It's a sad day the noo. J. M. Barrie!'"

OSBERT SITWELL.

TOO MUCH CRICKET?

By D. R. JARDINE

ONCE again the selection of the M.C.C.'s team for Australia is stealing the headlines and making the chief topic of conversation in cricketing circles. Our own County Championship and also the West Indies touring team have been pushed into the background.

There must be many, particularly among the County enthusiasts, harking back somewhat wistfully to memories of a truly domestic season. By that is meant a Summer with no touring team in these islands and therefore no Test Matches. The highlight of such a season would naturally and inevitably be Gentlemen and Players at Lord's—and what a highlight that would have made this year of Grace. The County Championship itself, might prove a neck-and-neck affair in no way dependent on extraneous calls upon the services of just those all-important elect, who can, and do, make all the difference in a race for points under any system of scoring. The University Match, school cricket and County cricket itself could not fail to gain in stature, and with stature it might fairly be hoped would come increased interest and virility.

Of course there is another side to the

picture. This is the financial aspect, and there is no getting away from the importance of touring profits to the countries actually playing international cricket whether they supply the visiting touring teams or, in their turn, act as hosts.

There are five countries involved, or six if we include Pakistan. Only in this country is it, strictly speaking, possible for more than a very limited number of individuals to adopt cricket as a profession. It follows, therefore, as a natural consequence that the calls upon this country, both as potential hosts or visitors, are far greater than upon any other of the Dominions. Having said this it may be added that not only is it right and natural that this should be the case, but it would be a matter for regret if it were otherwise.

Nevertheless, the implications for the individuals concerned in representative cricket in this country are ominous indeed, reckoned in terms of the possibility of a long cricketing career.

By the time the ordinary first-class cricketer has attained to representative cricket he has already played several five-months' seasons at home of nearly six days a week. If on the top of that there is to be a winter season every

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year with truly representative teams it can be said, without a shadow of doubt, that flesh and blood, whether bowling or batting (but more particularly the former) simply will not stand it.

So much for the case, which it is not difficult to state, though by no means all those interested in the game appear to appreciate the position, still less to have figured it out for themselves.

Before even the 1914-18 war the position had become difficult with only three countries, Australia, South Africa and ourselves playing Test Matches. The experiment tried of a triangular tournament in this country with both South African and Australian teams here at one and the same time, did not prove a financial success. As such, therefore, the whole scheme was written off as a failure and not only never repeated but never again suggested. But the mere fact that on that occasion it was a failure by no means implies that it need always be so.

1913, the year of the triangular tournament was, judged even by English standards, a wet and miserable summer which in some measure fairly accounts for failure at the gate. It is

often forgotten also that as far as the Australian team was concerned, the tour coincided with the birth of the Australian Board of Control which resulted in some half-dozen of Australia's best known and greatest cricketers refusing to make the tour. Finally, the South African side showed a distinct falling away from the high standard set by that country's team in 1907.

In fact, one may say that almost everything was against the success of the triangular tournament which could have been against it. There is no reason why history should repeat itself in this matter. In fact, if really representative teams from this country are going to get some rest from Test Matches and some winters at home it looks as if this can only be done by entertaining two touring teams in one and the same year in this country, and, with the aid of the aeroplane, and cutting down the number of matches played, attempting to combine the South African and Indian tour in one and the same winter, just as the Australian and New Zealand tour is now combined.

D. R. JARDINE.

BOOKS NEW AND OLD

YEATS COLLECTED*

By ERIC GILLET

IN the years immediately following the first world war a striking figure was to be seen in the streets of Oxford. Tall, undulant, wearing a markedly poetic hat, a velveteen jacket, and a bow tie, Yeats would pause before a bookshop window and murmur to himself for a moment or two before going on his way. Often I used to place myself behind him in the hope of hearing a word or two, but I never caught as much as a syllable. Later on, at the meeting of some college literary society I heard the poet reading and commenting on his work. It was a memorable experience. I have listened to many poets declaiming their verses, and very few do so with conviction and authority. Robert Bridges was the most convincing of them all, Mr. Masfield and Mr. De La Mare, the most charming. Yeats crooned his poems in peculiar sing-song tones which impressed many, and gave others a severe attack of the giggles. My recollection is that at the end of the meeting I attended, his admirers carried the poet in triumph across the quadrangle, in the words of one of his admirers now a famous novelist, "still cantillating."

Twenty-eight years later I have read the handsome volume which contains the whole of his output, and this re-reading confirms my belief that Yeats is the finest lyric poet that the 20th century has seen. He grew in stature with the years. He knew many influences and not one of them affected the essential integrity of his aim and purpose. Beginning with the lush and

colourful harmonies of the Pre-Raphaelites, sinking in sympathy with the wistful self-pitying plaints of Ernest Dowson and Lionel Johnson, rising again with the outspoken self-assertion of the Irish Rebellion of 1916, and finally settling into the careful, economical expression of the poems of his later life, Yeats always contrived to be in sympathy with the poetical mode of the day, without ever becoming the fashion or the "rage." Readers of the imaginative autobiographies of George Moore are familiar with his caricature of Yeats, who is depicted as a flapping, bird-like person, coddled by Lady Gregory in the idyllic surroundings of Coole, emerging spent and worn from the immense labour of writing six or seven lines—a productive morning's work. Indeed there is no doubt that Yeats did find the process of composition immensely difficult. His powers of concentration must have been extraordinary because he always gives the impression of spontaneity. A stern self-critic he had his own clear idea of the poet's craft, and in one of his last poems, *Under Ben Bulbin*, he bequeathed his instructions to his successors in 16 succinct lines:

Irish poets, learn your trade,
Sing whatever is well made,
Scorn the sort now growing up
All out of shape from toe to top,
Their unremembering hearts and heads
Base-born products of base beds.
Sing the peasantry, and then
Hard-riding country gentlemen,

* *Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats.* Macmillan. 15s.

YEATS COLLECTED

The holiness of monks, and after
Porter-drinkers' randy laughter;
Sing the lords and ladies gay
That were beaten into the clay
Through seven heroic centuries;
Cast your mind on other days
That we in coming days may be
Still the indomitable Irishry.

When he was a boy Yeats derived his earliest Irish inspiration from the Sligo peasants. His romantic imagination was stirred by their tales and legends. They fired him to explore Irish history and mythology. It was the beginning of a quest that never ended while he lived. It was not confined to his own country. He read encyclopædically. Eastern theology and philosophy was tucked neatly into his brain beside a comprehensive knowledge of the French poets. All this learning was used by a master hand. It was magically transmuted into the cool and radiant melodies of his poems. He was never a slave to his learning, but always master of the material he gathered from his reading and experience. To my eye, Yeats looked like a stage poet. He was nothing of the kind. An acute business man, a Senator, director of the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, a playwright by force of circumstance, a writer of beautiful prose, Yeats gave of his best in all these different kinds, but he excelled as a lyric poet.

He was always a poet and his verse drama never held the stage as his prose play, *Cathleen ni Houlihan* still does. As a writer of prose two early influences, affected him. One was Walter Pater, the other William Morris, of whom he left a delicious portrait: "a never idle man of great physical strength and extremely irascible—did he not fling a badly baked plum pudding through the window upon Christmas Day?—a man more joyous than any intellectual man of our world, he called himself 'the idle singer of an

empty day,' created new forms of melancholy, and faint persons, like the knights and ladies of Burne-Jones, who are never, no not once in forty volumes, put out of temper."

Here is a strong sense of the ludicrous which Yeats confined to gossip—not always without malice—in private conversation, and to a very occasional fling in prose. As he wrote prose with as much difficulty as he wrote verse, it is not surprising to find, as Mr. Louis MacNeice discovered in his admirable critical study of Yeats' poetry, that these high-spirited outbursts were very rare.

What riches there are in the poems! A man who began by finding Yeats one of the most congenial poets in adolescence might well enjoy the later poems as much in middle age. It was in 1889 that Yeats dedicated *Crossways* to A. E. In this book, among other beauties, is printed "The Sad Shepherd." New harmonies strike the ear:

There was a man whom Sorrow named his friend,
And he, of his high comrade Sorrow dreaming,
Went walking with slow steps along the gleaming
And humming sands, where windy surges wend:
And he called loudly to the stars to bend
From their pale thrones and comfort him,
but they
Among themselves laugh on and sing
alway.

This is individual, unforgettable. It has a beauty that stirs the heart. In his later work Yeats rejected firmly ornament and embellishment of every kind. He wrote sometimes almost colloquially and yet the magic was still there, mingled with a scarcely veiled contempt for the dull and respectable, as in *The Statesman's Holiday*:

I lived among great houses,
 Riches drove out rank,
 Base drove out the better blood,
 And mind and body shrank.
 No Oscar ruled the table,
 But I'd a troop of friends
 That knowing better talk had gone
 Talked of odds and ends.
 Some knew what ailed the world
 But never said a thing,
 So I have picked a better trade
 And night and morning sing:
*Tall dames go walking in grass-green
 Avalon.*

Yeats was an odd blend of mysticism
 and shrewdness. He was a poet most
 fully equipped and armoured. His

choice of words was precise and exact.
 His control of metre and harmony
 places him among the great lyricists.
 His approach to his art was sensitive
 and extremely self-knowledgeable. He
 knew his limitations and never, except
 in drama, attempted to go outside
 them. His epithet, written by himself,
 is an enigma worthy of a great poet
 and enigmatic personality. It runs:

Cast a cold eye
 On life, on death.
 Horseman, pass by!

ERIC GILLETT.

THE ROMANTIC LEGACY

By JOHN BAYLEY

THESE two books* approach
 their difficult subject in a most
 helpful and workmanlike way.
 Both authors have wisely decided to
 treat Romanticism as a historical rather
 than an æsthetic phenomenon, and in
 so doing they have avoided the partisan
 arguments and the acrid coining of
 definitions which tends to spoil F. L.
 Lucas's *The Decline and Fall of the
 Romantic Ideal*. The word "Roman-
 ticism"—perhaps the word "Com-
 munism"—is in the same position
 to-day?—has taken on so many op-
 posed and various meanings that it can
 no longer be used as a light-hearted
 dialectical counter or as a stimulus for
 sage and incisive epigram. It retains
 its meaning only if it is conscientiously

related to its historical background,
 and this is what Professor Bowra and
 Mr. John Heath-Stubbs have done.

The progress of English poetry from
 Blake to Christina Rossetti is extra-
 ordinarily rapid and variegated. The
 period from 1650 to 1780 is one of
 almost complete quiescence in com-
 parison with it, and it cannot be denied
 that the period of restless change
 produced more great poets than the
 period of quiescence. But the fact is
 that poetry was in a much sounder
 position—one might almost risk saying
 in a more *respectable* position—before
 the Romantic Movement than after it.
 In the 18th century and before, poetry
 was on the side of the government and
 the established order; it was an accepted
 and respected part of civilisation.
 Above all, it was a collective affair:
 poetry seemed to exist above and apart
 from poets. But with the Romantic

* *The Romantic Imagination*, by Professor
 C. M. Bowra. Oxford. 12s. 6d. *The Dark-
 ling Plain*, by John Heath-Stubbs. Eyre &
 Spottiswoode. 8s. 6d.

THE ROMANTIC LEGACY

Movement all this was changed. Poetry became the utterance of the individual, and usually of the individual priding himself upon being different from his neighbours. Instead of the voice of cultivated humanity it became the voice crying in the wilderness.

It is this situation that oppresses poetry to-day. After a century and a half of the poet as outlaw and dreamer, oblivious of his audience, the public function of poetry has very naturally gone into abeyance. Historically speaking, we are still Romantics in that the public has become so accustomed to the Romantic conception of poetry that it knows and expects nothing else. The poet is fixed in the public eye as an awkward and self-conscious figure who tries to make us believe that what he says is of universal importance. In contrast to its usual omniscience, one of the tendencies of Romanticism is to become more and more diffident, and when some definite announcement has to be made to regard hesitance as desirable in itself. We may observe this in a poet like Stephen Spender, whose verse bears many traces of the unfortunate results of certain Romantic methods. During the war he began one of his best and most forthright poems with the line:

I think continually of those who
were truly great . . .

in which, pathetically enough, the effort to speak out only results in a sort of grotesque effect of unlikelihood. Frankly we do not believe the poet, and we cannot treat his assertion with any reverence. Yet we do not for a moment think of disbelieving Emily Brontë's declaration:

No coward soul is mine,
No trembler in the world's storm-
troubled sphere. . . .

In the century between the two quotations has taken place the gradual decay

of the strong unselfconscious personal cry, one of the best and bravest of Romantic features.

The complete "disestablishment" of poetry which the Romantics effected has made it extremely hard for many modern poets to find their right level—and they are the sort of poets who enrich a more classical and conventional age. Poetically speaking, one suspects that the present time might be such an age, if only it could escape from the effects of Romantic theory. Our poets have little to say, but one should not blame them for this. Obedient to Romantic precepts, they dissipate their talent in trying to form some kind of *Weltanschauung* for themselves and in trying to cope with all the implications of a society in flux. And we expect them to do this, for the Romantics have taught us to look for individual authority and for the poet who will show us some fresh way of regarding life and its problems. Rather baldly one can sum the matter up by saying that the Romantics have made the writing of poetry far harder than it need be.

Ample proof of this is given by the necessary complexity of Professor Bowra's analysis of the difficult features in the philosophy of Blake and Shelley—he is especially good on *Prometheus Unbound*—and in Mr. Heath-Stubbs's survey of the melancholy attempts of Beddoes and Thomson to find as striking and individual a mode for themselves as their heroes had found. It is significant that a lyric of Darley's should have been mistaken by Palgrave for an anonymous 17th-century poem.

It is not beauty I demand,
A crystal brow, the moon's despair,
Nor the snow's daughter, a white hand,
Nor mermaid's yellow pride of hair.

If Darley had lived in the 17th century he would have written with all the

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careless self-confidence of Carew or Suckling and he would have been as fine a poet as they, but . . . he was a Romantic, and being so he had (or supposed he had) to search and to suffer. Carew would never have been worried by the thought that being a poet involved a continual and unflinching search for life and experience. Rilke's famous dictum about the need for the poet to watch death, poverty, and childbirth, and become, like the Mona Lisa, older than the rocks among which he sits, would only have puzzled Carew. He assumed that life and experience were already his, at their fullest and ripest, and it is the warmth of this assumption that fills his poems:

Ask me no more where Jove bestows
When June is past, the fading rose. . .

The sheer confident gusto of that opening gives it full poetic authority, while Darley's verse, though equally graceful, is somehow haunted by a rueful knowledge that it leaves the important things unsaid. This knowledge was to be the death of many a would-be Romantic.

It was typical, too, of the Romantic aftermath that Coventry Patmore's fine poems were received with a contempt from which they are not yet cleared. His mingling of religious musing with *vers de société* and domestic grace was thought highly unromantic by an audience that suppressed Clough and forced a public mask upon Tennyson. Here are some lines from Patmore's *The Angel in the House*:

. . . Across the hall
She took me; and we laughed and talked
About the flower-show and the ball.
Their pinks had won a spade for prize,
But this was gallantly withdrawn
For "Garth on Wiltshire Butterflies"!
Allusive! So we paced the lawn
And watched where, black with scarlet
tans,

Proud Psyche stood and flashed like
flame

Showing and shutting splendid fans;
And in the prize we found its name.

That Arch-Romantic Swinburne actually had the impertinence to compare the author of such Chaucerian light-heartedness and grace with the hymn-writer Martin Tupper!

Professor Bowra brings out very well two cardinal points of the Romantic Movement, its philosophical pretensions and its tendency—particularly shown by Poe—to rely upon the suggestive power of words. There is a connection between the two. Suggestion in good poetry must necessarily be profound, and this leads at once to the study of the poetic philosophy which lies behind the suggestion. What, for example, does Blake mean by his song: "O Rose Thou art sick"? Do we have to know what the Rose and the Worm signify in metaphysical terms, and what is symbolised by the Tiger in the Forests of the Night? Perhaps all that is necessary is that we should be aware that they signify *something*, something whose importance and excitement are only increased by the fact that they cannot be put into any other words. To try to make their meanings explicit will not really help us. No doubt the Prophetic Books can be explained in metaphysical terms, but this only shows that the lyrics are poetry and that the Prophetic Books are not.

Whatever they may mean, we feel that the images of the Rose, the Worm and the Tiger have a meaning, but Poe's *Dark Tarn of Auber* and *Nicean Barks* are quite obviously suggestion for suggestion's sake. Professor Bowra entertainingly points out that the logical development of Poe's usage is that of Edward Lear.

On the coast of Coromandel
Where the early Pumpkins blow,

THE ROMANTIC LEGACY

In the middle of the woods
Lived the Yonghy-Bonghy-Bo. . . .

The Yonghy-Bonghy-Bo lurks in wait
for all purely Romantic writers!

We are left with the impression that the Romantic formulæ succeeded best when they were combined with the simplicity of the gnomic utterance, the classical statement. At his best Matthew Arnold is a fine exponent of this compromise and in at least one poem his mingling of ancient sadness

with a great Romantic image comes home to us very vividly to-day.

. . . this world which seems
To lie before us like a land of dreams. . . .
Hath really neither joy nor love, nor light;
Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help from
pain;
And we are here as on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and
flight
Where ignorant armies clash by night.

JOHN BAYLEY.

FAR EASTERN PERSPECTIVES

By JULES MENKEN

FOUR of the books reviewed here deal primarily with Russia and Japan, the two countries which have made most of the running in East Asia during the past half-century or more; the other books are concerned with three countries (Outer Mongolia, Manchuria, China) which have in the main been the scene of domestic ferment or objects of the policy of others, but have not themselves played a major creative or active part in the contemporary Far East.

Dr. Dallin is a well known Russian-born writer now settled in the United States. Both his present volumes* are works of considerable learning which draw extensively on Russian sources little if at all known to the English-speaking world. *The Rise of Russia in Asia* is concerned with Russian policy in East Asia and its international repercussions from the middle of the nineteenth century until the Soviet-Chinese war of 1929. *Soviet Russia and the Far*

East carries on the story from the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 to the position in 1946, when Soviet Russia faced east across the Pacific after making major gains in territory and influence throughout East Asia, but before the Chinese Communists had overthrown the Kuomintang and established themselves as the government of all China. One most striking feature of this development has been the persistence and immensity of Russia's ambitions in the Far East. Even after the huge territorial gains achieved by Count Muraviev-Amursky, the governor-general of Eastern Siberia from 1847 to 1861, Russia's ruling circles were still not satisfied. "Our sovereign has grandiose plans in his head," wrote the Russian Minister of War, General Kuropatkin, in 1903 about Nicholas II, the last Tsar of Imperial Russia. "He wants to seize Manchuria and proceed toward the annexation of Korea; he also plans to take Tibet under his rule. He wants to take Persia and to seize not only the Bosphorus but also the Dardanelles."

* *The Rise of Russia in Asia; Soviet Russia and the Far East.* Both by David J. Dallin. (Hollis & Carter. 18s. and 30s. respectively.)

Under Stalin Russian territorial ambitions—and not only in East Asia—have been even vaster, though often masked behind a façade of nominally independent local rule, the uses of which for the purposes of Communist aggression the latest events in Korea are plainly demonstrating. Dr. Dallin's two books provide material (much of it not elsewhere available in English) which is essential for understanding both of the recent past and of developments now in progress whose sinister import we are only beginning to measure.

Both Mr. Friters and Ma Ho-t'ien * possess exceptional, though very different, knowledge of Outer Mongolia, the vast but arid and thinly populated region between Eastern Siberia and China over which Russia has succeeded for the present in establishing a firm control. Mr. Friters, who has never visited the country, has written the first full account in English of Outer Mongolia's international position. He draws extensively on the literature in several languages, making especially thorough use of the Russian sources which are by far the most important owing to the success with which Russia (Tsarist and Soviet alike) has blocked effective contact with Outer Mongolia by other countries. By contrast with Mr. Friters, Ma Ho-t'ien travelled extensively in Outer Mongolia during 1926-27 as a Chinese political agent, and his book provides the most detailed account yet available of the Mongolian People's Republic during crucial early years of Sovietisation. Between them, Mr. Friters and Ma Ho-t'ien enable English readers to form a fuller and better picture than ever before of an area whose strategic and political im-

portance extends far beyond its own remote frontiers.

*Manchuria Since 1931** appears under the joint auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations and the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Its author, Dr. F. C. Jones, Lecturer in History at Bristol University, may be congratulated on an admirably compact study, which deals briefly but clearly with the geography and earlier modern history of Manchuria prior to Japanese occupation, surveys fully Japan's policy in the principal administrative and economic fields between 1931 and 1945, and in a short final chapter reviews (though much less adequately) the tangled skein of events in Manchuria between 1945 and 1947 when the Russians overran the country and handed it over to the Chinese Communists after stripping or destroying the greater part of the industrial capacity built up under the Japanese. Among Dr. Jones's most interesting chapters are those on the racial minorities of Manchuria—Mongols, White Russians, Koreans, and Japanese—whose importance, though dimmed for the moment, is certainly not exhausted; his account of the great industrial developments—notably in mining, hydro-electric power, and heavy industry—effected by the Japanese; and his description of Manchuria's communications and transport, parts of which as enlarged by the Japanese are strategically highly important in connection with the present fighting in Korea.

Of our three books on China, two are by outstanding scholars and the third by an able and experienced journalist. All the European authors—one author, Fêng Chia-shêng, is an eminent Chinese—are Germans by birth. Professor Eberhard, who is now

* *Outer Mongolia and Its International Position*. By Gerard Friters. *Chinese Agent in Mongolia*. By Ma Ho-t'ien. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 45s. and 28s. respectively.)

* *Manchuria Since 1931*. By F. C. Jones. (Royal Institute of International Affairs. 18s.)

FAR EASTERN PERSPECTIVES

on the staff of the University of California, though still only in his very early forties, already has behind him a career of great brilliance. His present volume* is a remarkable achievement. Embodying the results of extensive specialised studies by Chinese, Japanese and European scholars (including himself), it is a synthesis addressed to the general reader which covers the whole history of China from the earliest beginnings until to-day in the astonishingly short space of 350 pages, or about 125,000 words. Professor Eberhard's feat of compression is the more remarkable because he has not made a mere list of worthies or catalogue of events. On the contrary, he sketches China's history in political and sociological terms, showing the secular movement from unity to division and from division to unity which is one of its marked features, and paying due attention to the movement of religion, thought and literature and the growth of the arts. Of great value also is his clear, balanced account of China's immensely complex relations with neighbouring peoples and states—a subject without proper treatment of which a large part of Chinese history is confused or unintelligible. Professor Eberhard is of course not without his blind spots. To him, "the lives of emperors, the great battles, this or the other famous deed, matter less . . . than the discovery of the great forces that underlie these features and govern the human element." It is doubtless this excessively abstract and sociological approach which leads him practically to ignore even such great rulers of men as the T'ang emperor T'ai Tsung, or Jenghiz Khan—one of the rare individuals whose tremendous personality and genius may on almost any interpretation be likened to one of

"the great forces" of history. As mistaken is Professor Eberhard's view that "a war solves no problems"—a dictum at which both Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek (to name no others) would doubtless smile wryly. (What Professor Eberhard really means is something very different; but his phrase is nevertheless revealing.) But despite these not unimportant faults, Professor Eberhard's *History of China* may be warmly welcomed as a most valuable and enlightening short survey.

Professors Wittfogel and Fêng's *History of Chinese Society—Liao (907–1125)** is the first volume to be published in a great enterprise of scholarship in progress in the United States. This enterprise is the Chinese History Project, a research centre now sponsored by the University of Washington (the State on the Pacific Coast, not Washington, D.C., the capital city of the United States), in co-operation with Columbia University. The Chinese History Project, on which Western and Chinese scholars have been at work since 1939, aims at translating, annotating and interpreting significant parts of the great Chinese treasure-house of historical knowledge, the *Twenty-Four Dynastic Histories*. Professor Wittfogel, a student of Chinese institutional history for twenty-five years, is Director of the Project, with which Professor Fêng has also been closely associated. The present volume studies the Liao empire which controlled during the tenth and eleventh centuries the regions to-day known as Manchuria, Mongolia, and the north-eastern part of China Proper. A social history, the book deals with the Ch'i-tan, the nomad

* *History of Chinese Society—Liao (907–1125)*. By Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-shêng. (Published by the American Philosophical Society with the co-operation of the American Institute of Pacific Relations and distributed by the Macmillan Company (New York); London: Macmillan. £5 5s.)

* *A History of China*. By Wolfram Eberhard. (Routledge & Kegan Paul. 21s.)

founders and masters of the Liao empire, with its subject peoples (in the main Chinese), and with its economic, cultural, political and military institutions. The Liao dynasty was historically far more important than the brief treatment usually accorded it would suggest, for besides serving directly or indirectly as a pattern for later Chinese dynasties of conquest, the Ch'i-tan rulers of Liao may well have laid the foundation for—and certainly influenced—the great Mongol military machine which, under Jenghiz Khan and his successors, profoundly affected the fate of Asia, of Russia, and of Europe. Professors Wittfogel and Fêng treat their subject with splendid fullness and scope, making use of the methods of modern social studies to interpret ancient texts and elucidate long-forgotten questions, and achieving in the result a rare magnificence of scholarship and authority. As first-fruits of a great historical undertaking, their book whets the appetite for future volumes dealing similarly with more familiar periods. It also throws valuable light on the age-old and most stubborn problems which conquerors of China confront.

*China im Sturm** is by a German journalist who spent the years from 1937 to 1947 in China, living for long periods in both Shanghai and Chungking, travelling over much of the country, and learning about many of China's formidable problems by first-hand enquiry. Herr Schenke is an astute observer, and writes with a graphic pen. His sketches of life in war-time Chungking and of journeyings through a Chinese province bordering on Tibet are fresh and vivid. He rightly warns against over-simplification of the Chinese problem, and as rightly emphasises the great part that

native issues and personalities have played in the development of Chinese Communism. But Herr Schenke surely goes a great deal too far when he insists that the establishment of a Communist régime does not signify that China has fallen under Soviet influence. The truth about relationships such as that between Moscow and Peking is not shouted from the house-tops; but, equally, there can be little informed doubt that, whatever the future may bring, it is the Russians and not the Chinese who now possess the weight of power and authority, set the course, and determine the pace, at all events where major Chinese external policy is concerned.

Two books could scarcely contrast more sharply than Professor Yanaga's and Miss Tracy's.* Both are concerned with Japan; both in the end achieve one common impression. Otherwise the differences are profound. Professor Yanaga, who is Associate Professor of Political Science at Yale University, has brought together an immense body of material on the history and development of Japan during the century that has elapsed since Commander Perry sailed with his "black ships" into Yedo Bay and presented the Tokugawa Shogunate with the American demand that their country be opened to foreign trade and navigation. And, for the Japanese, what a century it has been! Their isolation broken, their ancient system of government overthrown and a new one set up, their social structure deeply altered, the education of classes and masses alike transformed, the methods of Western science and industry learnt, mighty industries after the Western model created; a military and naval

* *Japan Since Perry*. By Chitoshi Yanaga. (McGraw-Hill. 51s.) *Kakemono: A Sketch Book of Post-War Japan*. By Honor Tracy. (Methuen. 12s. 6d.)

* *China im Sturm*. By Wolf Schenke. (Hamburg: H. H. Nölke Verlag. 12 DM.)

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power developed far greater than any Eastern people has wielded for seven centuries, great victories won and a vast Japanese empire built on the mainland of Asia and in the Pacific for the first time in history, still greater ambitions cherished and long strides made toward fulfilling them—and all this followed by the crash of overwhelming defeat, with confidence, prosperity, and arrogant pride giving place to impoverishment, humiliation, and deep uncertainty. These developments and their background and ramifications provide Professor Yanaga's theme; while the fact that in many chapters he utilises sources in Japanese which few foreign students (if any) have worked through adds greatly to the value of his survey.

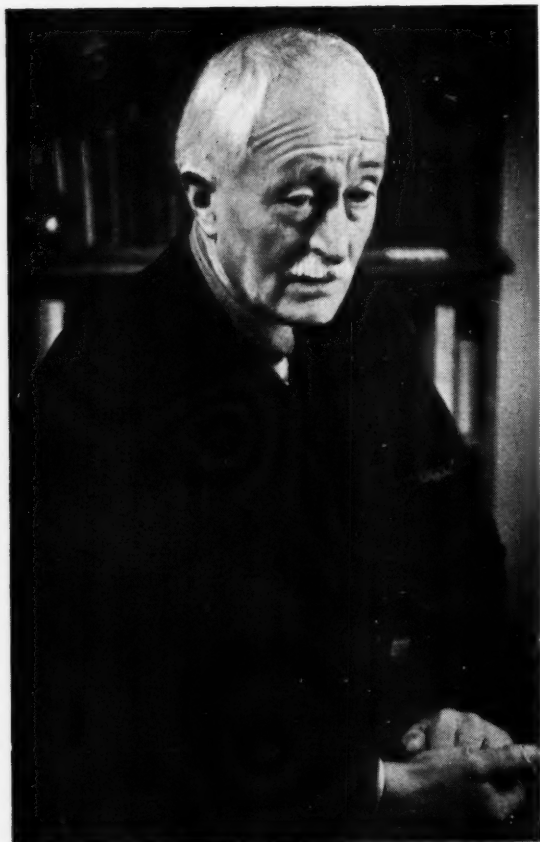
The common impression left by both Professor Yanaga and Miss Tracy is of the ultimate elusiveness of the Japanese. Even deeper, however, is the impression made by Miss Tracy's insight, and by her acute and sensitive perception of Japanese qualities and character as she saw them under the American occupation during an eight months' visit in 1948 as correspondent of the *Observer*. Her book—one of the most understanding studies of post-war Japan—is a volume of sketches and comment written with sureness, humour, delicacy of feeling, and great insight. The picture she draws is not pretty, and certainly will not—and should not—flatter the conceit of the occupying authorities. Despite obvious unfairness in important respects, her summing up deserves to be noted and remembered for the core of truth it contains from the Japanese standpoint:

The spectacle of a young and savage nation trying, hurriedly and for no clear reason, to remake one of the most civilised races on the earth to its own

bizarre pattern must be, for the onlooker, a highly diverting one. But for a people like the Japanese, profoundly aware of its own worth and accomplishment, to be used as the guinea-pig in so frivolous and uncalled-for an experiment, must have been a cruel humiliation to them, and humiliation is what they can least forgive. It is possible, even likely, that they will harbour resentment longer against the carefree missionaries of GHQ than against the men who dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima after their Government had asked for talks on peace, or against the troops in the Pacific whose atrocities, though not so widely advertised, bore comparison with their own.

Including Korea, the parts of East Asia with which this review has been concerned are peopled by upwards of 600,000,000 souls, or about a quarter of the population of the globe. To the ancient cultures of the East, many of the ideas and values which have accompanied the material fabric of Western Civilisation have been corroding and disruptive. An immense work of transvaluing old values and finding fresh forms of social and political organisation is therefore under way. These Eastern peoples may grope through the jungle of this fearful labour alone. But the task will be done far better if some of the best spiritual and intellectual energies of the West will help with the work of truly creative thinking which the situation demands. Such thinking is all the more urgently called for because of the great struggle with Communism that now lies ahead. That struggle will not be won without arms; but it will also not be won by arms alone; and the final victory will go to those who wield the sword of the spirit with full consciousness of their larger responsibilities.

JULES MENKEN.



JOHN MASEFIELD.

(Picture Post Library.)

A PUNGENT ANTHOLOGY

MY FAVOURITE ENGLISH POEMS. John Masefield. Heinemann. 10s. 6d.

IT would be useless for Mr. Masefield to try to hide his light under a bushel. Everything he writes, everything he says in public, is so heavily stamped with character that recognition is instant. What a welcome quality that is, especially in this modern world which seems bent upon trying to eradicate it, not only from public life, but from private relationships too. No external pressure will rub down Mr. Masefield's personality. Time even has not done so, for he is to-day as pronounced as he was when he published *The Widow in the Bye-street* and that magnificent tale, *Multitude and Solitude* (which I never see included in the lists of his works).

Outstanding among his qualities is his ability to tell a tale, and to tell it succinctly,

with almost a slashing gesture. Somehow he manages to get that gesture into this anthology. He does it by not caring how much or how little he quotes. There are only five lines from Wordsworth's *Prelude*, and one lyric (So we'll go no more a-roving) from Byron. It is odd that nothing is given from the shipwreck scene in *Don Juan*; superb narrative stuff. And it is narrative in which Mr. Masefield normally shows so deep an interest. Maybe Byron's underlying element of cold savagery, the side of his nature that later would have made him a politician and statesman, repels Mr. Masefield, for in all his own work there is a tenderness of nerves, a kind of emotional hesitancy, which put a rein upon his brusquely active temper and his delight in action. Adventure is necessary for him, but within his constant attack upon circumstance there can be detected a craving for rest. And that is another way of saying that he has a sense of eternity. Hence his frequent references to Beauty, and the other constants that punctuate the passing scene of this earthly life.

The book has a Preface of 27 pages, explaining the limitations imposed by the anthologist. He has not allowed himself to include verse written within the last 50 years (that keeps out the 20th century). He has only included poems which have remained with him for delight over that no-man's land of 50 years. Those limitations make things easier, if only in the matter of copyright material. No living ear need burn. References to the past in comparison with the present contain some hard hitting. He compares our present scarcity of books and journals ("our daily papers, there were nine morning and evening papers of the first rank, were then the best, the best-informed, the best-written, the most dignified and the most honest in the world. Each gave an entire page, or two pages, or more, on one day, or on two days, in each week, to comment upon new books") with conditions 50 years ago. He talks about the influence of the Romantic Movement, which survived through those years and conditioned his literary character. He tells of the great

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influence of Browning and the waning influence of Tennyson, at the turn of the century. He includes two pages from *Sordello* in this anthology; an original approach to a poet now neglected. He ponders upon the overstress upon politics to-day, and he disapproves angrily of "Art made tongue-tied by Authority" (a line from Shakespeare quoted in the book).

Apart from these general comments on a book that commands curiosity and then satisfies it, I find some difficulty in making detailed criticism. That is so with all anthologies. One man's meat is another man's poison. But I find no poison here, for Mr. Masfield as poet and tale-teller is congenial to me. His candour, his vigour, his superb sense of physical contact with his theme, his concealment of his scholarship, and his humility of soul, are for me exemplary of the right nature of a poet. No better reference to the quality of this collection need be offered than that contained in a few lines from Mr. Masfield's beloved Chaucer (and my beloved too!), taken from this book:

"This is the way to all good aventure;
Be glad, thou reader, and thy sorwe off-
cast,
All open am I; passe in, and speed thee
fast!"

RICHARD CHURCH.

THE JACOBITE TWILIGHT

THE JACOBITE MOVEMENT: THE LAST PHASE. Sir Charles Petrie. *Eyre and Spottiswoode*. 15s.

THE second volume of Sir Charles Petrie's study of Jacobitism sustains the interest which the first aroused. It is witty, extremely well written, and while obviously the work of a partisan, it is composed with restraint. Above all, it successfully avoids the sentimentality which has proved the especial bane of its subject.

The theme, it is true, has become less exalted, for with few exceptions the men who surrounded Charles Edward were of a lower dignity than those who fought for

his ancestors. The descent from Dundee to Pickle the Spy is steep. And the Prince himself was to exhibit one of the most tragic personal deteriorations in history. Charles Edward nearly won a crown for his father, but his later life helped to ensure that he would never wear one himself. It says much for the earlier influence of the best known (and best loved) of the Stuarts that the drink-sodden degenerate of 1780 has never been allowed to obscure for posterity the singularly gallant leader of 1745. In this book, however, Charles Edward is properly compared to his disadvantage with the old Pretender, or, as the author would term him, James III and VIII.

It is a pity that Charles did not take the alleged advice of one of his followers and go to his death at Culloden, for the Jacobite cause had in truth been lost when the retreat from Derby had been ordered in the previous December. Here indeed is one of the most interesting of the "might have beens" of which this history is full. For the retreat was probably unnecessary, and there is some reason to think that Charles then had London at his mercy. He might have gained a kingdom, though it is more doubtful whether he could have kept it. As it was, the long Jacobite twilight began, and the brutalities with which the rising was avenged are perhaps some indication of the Whig measure of the danger they had escaped.

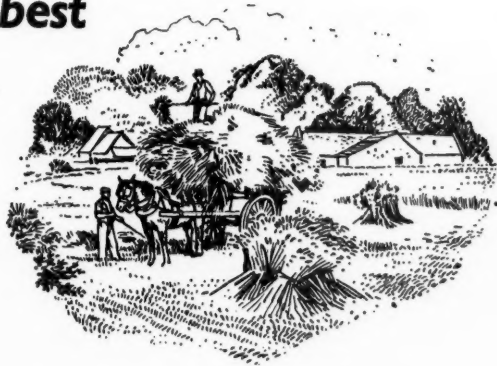
This book, stimulating and informative throughout, is at its best in describing the military campaigns. Its appraisal of English parliamentary politics in the age of Walpole and Newcastle is more disputable; more, also, might have been advantageously said about the religious issues involved, particularly in so far as these affected the Anglican Church, and more especially the Non-jurors. Nevertheless, Sir Charles has here completed a courageous and genial study of a theme which possesses an abiding interest. The Jacobite princes, treated in a manner which they themselves would have appreciated, come to life in his pages. Even the byways in their fascinating story are explored. Were the "Sobieski Stuarts"



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of the 19th century really illegitimate? What did Flora Macdonald do in America? And was Dr. Johnson ever out in the '45?

DAVID DOUGLAS.

"EGO"—MANIA

THEATRE 2. Harold Hobson. *Longmans, Green.* 15s.

MR. HAROLD HOBSON is a critic whose work and taste alike command respect. A collection of his dramatic essays and opinions cannot fail to be of the greatest interest to any lover of the contemporary theatre, and his publishers have presented it in attractive form, very agreeably illustrated. But it is a pity that Mr. Hobson did not confine himself to the collection, revision, and elaboration of his "notices" without the embellishment of what can only be termed Thespian gossip. Mr. Hobson claims in his defence that gossip can be as entertaining and even as important as expressions of opinion with regard to plays, and quotes Pepys to prove his point. To one reader this defence seemed inadequate. For some time now dramatic critics have reproached actors and actresses with giving up their honourable tradition of roguery and vagabondage for the delights of fashionable restaurants and the Stage Golfing Society. Mr. Hobson—seduced it may be by the temptation to accept the "Ego" series at its author's own valuation—has succumbed to precisely the same temptation. Two restaurants, fashionable with West End players, appear in his pages with monotonous regularity. He reveals himself as continually in friendly and bonhomous intercourse with leading actors and managers, with whom he is of course on terms of Christian names, discussing both the large and the small change of the theatrical Rialto. The reader is compelled to wonder sometimes if in such circumstances the critic must not find it hard to preserve a sternly dispassionate attitude towards the pieces in which his intimates take part, or which his friends present.

Mr. Hobson's criticisms imply an attitude of mind not only judicial, but even Puritan. To preserve such an attitude in the environment of the Ivy and the Caprice must be a considerable strain. The gossip is not entertaining enough, partly because Mr. Hobson is evidently not a malicious man—save when he deals with an O.U.D.S. performance of *Richard II.* The stories are not funny enough. As a result there is an impression of "padding," which is unfair to the main body of the book.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Hobson will continue with his series. It is also to be hoped that he will cease to emulate James Agate, and substitute as models Bernard Shaw, Max Beerbohm, or A. B. Walkley. It will be a pity if an acknowledged chronicler of the stage of our time should confirm the indictment so frequently levelled against it of frivolity; of being content with recognition as an appendage of so-called Society. Mr. Hobson has done himself a good deal less than justice in this volume.

VAL GIELGUD.

GOD FOR HARRY

HAPPY PILGRIMAGE. Sir Harry Brittain, K.B.E., C.M.G., LL.D. *Hutchinson.* 20s.

SOMEONE has, I believe, pre-empted the nickname "Happy Harry"; if not, it would do perfectly for Sir Harry Brittain. His exceptionally wide acquaintance with the human race has not disillusioned him. His sanguine temperament has survived even the experience of politics.

It is, in fact, hard to think of him as a politician. Though he was in Parliament from 1918 to 1929, he declined to become a Minister, because "at that particular date" (shortly after the First World War) "those who were able to enjoy the uncertain emoluments of office were either (a) possessors of an independent income, or (b) those with none, and nothing to lose." Yet his political achievements are of the highest order. As creator of the Pilgrims, of the Empire Press Union and

BOOKS NEW AND OLD

of the Imperial Press Conferences, he has done more lasting good than many who for years on end have dithered and doodled in the seats of power.

Sir Harry is not one of those who regard politics as an occult science. He would almost certainly agree with H. A. L. Fisher's definition of it as "the art of human happiness." His own public life has been fruitful, because he has brought to it a rich blend of curiosity, imagination, energy and ordinary human sympathy. His active interests have ranged from the protection of trade and industry to the protection of English song-birds.

His further volume of reminiscences is true to form. Its style is that of the spoken, rather than of the written, word; and this is apt to stumble at times, without the author's melodious voice to help it along. But, to make up for this, the book is generously illustrated; and one photograph from it, which says as much for Sir



SIR HARRY BRITAIN (second from left) AT THE UNVEILING OF THE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL IN GROSVENOR SQUARE.



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Harry as any amount of letterpress, is reproduced on the previous page. This was taken on a solemn occasion, and it depicts a man of the world, who is also a man of vision and a man of will; a man who can shine in any company.

Some may find it to their taste to sneer and search for weaknesses. But most of those who read this book will react differently. They will relish the author's spirit and admire what he has done; and their final comment may well be, "God for Harry! England and St. George!" But not in any narrow sense; for this Harry, though patriotic indeed, and thoroughly ill-disposed towards dragons, is the friend of all good people, whoever and wherever they may be.

JOHN GRIGG.

Novels

- SUCH DARLING DODOS. Angus Wilson.
Secker and Warburg. 9s. 6d.
THE LAST POOL. Patrick O'Brian. *Secker and Warburg.* 9s. 6d.
GEORDIE. David Walker. *Collins.* 7s. 6d.
FORTRESS OF THE NORTH. Jane Lane.
Dakers. 9s. 6d.
THE BAMBOO HOUSE. George Scurfield.
Michael Joseph. 9s. 6d.
THE MADRONE TREE. David Duncan.
Gollancz. 8s. 6d.

HIS first volume of short stories led us to expect a lot of Angus Wilson. His second is no disappointment. Each item in *Such Darling Dodos* suggests an artistically compounded cocktail: one by no means agreeable in the drinking, but leaving behind a very pleasant, astringent taste. Inevitably the author sets one thinking of Evelyn Waugh, and the last story in this volume has indeed something of Waugh in it. But it is of a different complexion from its predecessors. Angus Wilson is scarcely a satirist. He is a keen observer of contemporary life, not cynical, but with an appreciation of values that lets him see through intellectual snobbery and discover the virtues of simplicity. He is kind to stupidity if it is good-natured. He presents unpleasant characters, but does not invite you to like them. Nor does he suggest that they are the rule rather than the exception. He writes with some distinction. I hope that, possessing so many of the gifts of the short-story writer, he will not be lured away to the novel-form.

Another volume of short stories. I mentioned *The Last Pool* to a friend who had glanced at it. "Ah, yes, fishing stories," he said. Well—yes; that is true of some of the thirteen, and two or three are stories that only a fisherman, perhaps, can fully appreciate. But in nearly all of them what is crucial is the effort and exhaustion of hunter and hunted, rather than the technical detail of rod and fly, rock and eddy; and of the effort the inexperienced reader is made acutely conscious. The "outdoor" stories are of man in

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Novels

solitude, either hunting or himself hunted by man or nature. With one or two others in the book I could have dispensed, because I dislike whimsical leprechaunery. Two are effectively supernatural, and even they have the exactitude of material detail to be found in a Stanley Spencer canvas. Patrick O'Brian has indeed the painter's eye for the shape and colour of nature. And it is chiefly of man's relation to nature, not, as with Angus Wilson, to man, that these vivid, episodic stories set the reader thinking.

Geordie is a short, simple, fairy-story in modern dress (if kilts are modern). It is a variation on a familiar theme. The wee country lad grows up, to win Olympic laurels and to marry the neighbour's daughter who once called him "wee." It is certainly original to make the hero a weight-putter (not even a cricketer, footballer or pugilist) and to cast Mr. Henry Samson ("grow strong the Samson way") for the fairy godmother's role. But what wins the day is the affectionate care with which the tale is told and each character drawn: *Geordie's* ingenuous integrity, the eccentric laird's shrewd and kindly tact. No doubt the Scottish setting helps to make the sentiment palatable, though a Cornish or Cockney one could have done as much in the hands of as brave an author as David Walker. This is not great literature, but a delightful companion for a sunny afternoon.

In 1691 four Jacobite prisoners in the fortress of the Bass Rock seized it and held it for three years before they surrendered — (those who survived) — on honourable terms. This is the story that Jane Lane has reconstructed in *Fortress of the North*. Or has she? She introduces a character who does not belong to history, a girl who seduces the English romantic, youngest of the quartette. This makes the girl as important an element as the siege; and this the author tends to emphasise by her method of narration—extracts from the journals and correspondence of three of the little garrison. The book has been widely praised, and indeed it is spirited and grips the reader. But I confess to some disappointment. The story could

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Novels

(with the aid of a Jane Lane) have "told itself" if the siege and its heroes had been as certainly its theme as, say, the rifleman's adventures in *Death to the French*. I do not think that Jane Lane has either improved on history or allowed history to do itself justice. And then there is the inevitable, dangerous challenge to comparison with R. L. S.

I am tempted to say that George Scurfield, too, has tried to improve on nature. His is the story of a patrol crossing and re-crossing the Chindwin River in a Japanese-infested area. It would have been plain without the publisher's aid that he knows war-time Burma. Would not the adventures of the patrol, its British, Gurkha and Burmese participants, have been story enough? Not quite. The hatred that Forsyth (from whose standpoint the book is mainly written) feels for Sherbourne; the temptation to kill that is matched by opportunity; the psychological study to which this gives rise—these do add a purpose and symmetry to the story. But the reader may remember the book after he has forgotten this central theme. He may also wish that the author would explain earlier and more fully the two men's relations to the Anne who is the cause of the trouble. And he may puzzle over one or two oddities of style—effective enough, but, it seems, inconsistently used. But these are matters of minor moment. This first novel is very vivid, very exciting. I hope that George Scurfield can imagine as well as recollect "atmosphere." If so, it will not be long before he is an established novelist.

Here, finally, is an American near-detective story which has an original and, I should guess, authentic setting: a village owned by a lumber-king who is determined to have no trade union nonsense, and uses the Church—no, let me be fair, superstition—to maintain his tyranny. So far, so good: repressions obviously breed trouble. Yet I found the story unconvincing. It might not matter that the deaths are made to seem trivialities, if the overshadowing mystery of the mutilation of the Madrone tree did not fall flat. Nor

Novels

am I fond of detectives—even when they are Professors in retreat—who extract information by hypnotism. Still, there are original touches. I cannot but admire an author who, with one word, gives the answer to his puzzle about halfway through his book, confident that you will miss its significance. You need not blame yourself overmuch if you do: it may only mean that the mutilation, and its semi-symbolism, leave you reasonably cold.

MILWARD KENNEDY.

Financial

MORE TAXATION?

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SO far the Government's handling of the Korean crisis, as it affects this country, seems to many in the City to bear an extraordinary and disquieting likeness to its handling of previous economic crises. There has been the same preliminary shuffling in face of an obvious danger. The Commons' debate on Defence brought forth evidence of the numbers of Russian divisions under arms; and the Government's subsequent call for volunteers was an admission that the present organisation of our own armed forces is not sufficient to meet an emergency. If one thing is clear from the fighting in Korea it is that Russian equipment is at least the equal on the ground of what is ready to hand in the Western democracies. Yet a programme of an increase in expenditure of £100 millions was all that the Government then proposed. What next? As though aware of this inadequacy there was a rush to the other extreme. An increase of just over £300 millions a year for three years, part of this sum to be covered by American aid, was presented to the country as the startling figure of £3,000 millions. And then to complete

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the circle, it was allowed to be understood, as it has been allowed to be understood in previous crises, that, serious though the situation is, nothing that is to be done will actually affect anyone's livelihood. In the absence of the Government and of Parliament it has been left to Mr. Francis Williams, writing in the *News Chronicle*—in the circumstances the blind must turn to the blind for a lead—to speculate that “despite some dollar grants, the bulk (of the defence expenditure) will have to come from home production.”

Unhappily the similarity of approach is unlikely to be matched by similar good fortune in the event. This spring and summer the Government was saved from the consequences of its own inadequacy by the unexpected prosperity in America. The City does not believe that any similar god from the

machine can now be looked for; rather it fears that, with rates of pay in the forces about to be increased, the cost of bringing the country's defences to a satisfactory state of readiness may be even higher than has yet been envisaged. It is clear that much the larger part of the £1,000 millions odd extra so far announced is for production of equipment, and that increased rates of pay must come over and above this figure. The City abhors a vacuum at the top. In the absence of any guidance from the Government, its thoughts have therefore naturally turned to the problems of releasing the physical resources which will now be required and of the provision of the finance for doing so.

At the moment nothing more is possible than the most tentative of guesses. But to make the guesses intelligible the national balance sheet is being worked out more or less as follows. In the first place it is necessary to estimate the extra demand of defence expenditure which will have to be met wholly from internal resources. Some optimists put the possible contribution from America as high as a third or a half of the total increase. Something like a quarter is, however, probably more realistic; and on this basis it is estimated that the increased burden, allowing for some increase above the Government's figure so far given, will be of the order of £200 millions in each of the next three years, with a rising tendency towards the end of the period. In other words, an annual defence expenditure of the order of £1,000 millions is expected. Will the present increase in production be sufficient to accommodate such an amount? At first sight the answer to this question is encouraging; production is increasing faster than was estimated in the Economic Survey and is adding to the supply of goods and

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But the calculation is not, of course, as simple as this. There are other claimants for a share of this increase. In the first place the terms of trade, after a pause, are continuing to turn against this country. Between last September and June this year the index of export prices had increased only from 113 to 119, while the index of import prices has increased from 110 to 132; and since June the rise in world commodity prices will have made the divergence even more marked: the increase in dollar earnings of the sterling area, in fact, which is due to the higher prices, is having its usual complementary effect of making this country's individual problem more difficult. This means that for a given volume of imports, the volume of exports must be further stepped up; indeed, if the overall balance of payments is not to deteriorate this may take over £200 millions of the prospective increase. Secondly, as production goes up there is an offsetting reduction in Marshall Aid. Thirdly the diversion of effort with its inevitable dislocation will itself reduce the rate of increase in production. Last, but by no means least, the present round of wage claims, still to be settled, will almost certainly divert a fair proportion of the increase—if they were all granted in full something over £200 millions—to private consumption. Over and above all this, there is still capital investment, other than capital investment for defence production, which is a constant claimant for any surplus. In circumstances in which economic recovery is still a major objective side by side with defence, this last claimant cannot be ignored.

At this stage the net effect of all these forces cannot be determined. It is clear, however, that if the increased

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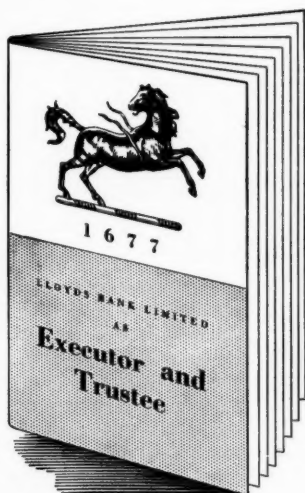
demand for defence can be met without a reduction in any other kind of consumption the margin will be very narrow indeed and will depend largely on the amount of aid that comes from America. There is on the other hand a strong probability, especially when the tendency for defence expenditure to rise over the last three years is borne in mind, that there will have to be a reduction either in private consumption, in investment, or in government expenditure below the present levels as well as a diversion of part of the increase in production from peaceful to warlike purposes. Translated into financial terms, this means that not only will present total rates of taxation have to be maintained to bring part of the extra production within the command of Government expenditure; there may have to be an increase in taxation as well—or a reduction in Government expenditure—to offset the inflationary pressure that would otherwise develop.

This line of reasoning marches with a second and less sophisticated view. However much they wish it—and however much the current Exchequer returns may suggest that some progress is being made—most people do not believe that a significant reduction in Government expenditure can be achieved, at least under the present Government. The possibility that increased defence expenditure can be offset by reductions in other directions is not, therefore, seriously considered. On the other hand, for all the fine talk from the Chancellor, the belief dies hard that the immediate and automatic reaction of the Government to the prospect of increased expenditure is to increase taxation. However much doctrine may suggest the opposite, there is more than a suspicion that the so-called anti-inflationary budget surplus is a resi-

duary of policy and not a key to it. Consequently without stopping to consider the whole situation, there is an apprehensive common denominator of opinion that expects higher taxation more or less by instinct. If so, where is the burden likely to fall?

This is, of course, a question for the budget. But the conviction that it will certainly arise has put steam behind the controversy on the principles of taxation which was started by Sir Stafford Cripps on the third reading of the Finance Bill and into which Mr. Strachey made so unfelicitous an incursion. Since, with the present narrow margin of taxable capacity, this is likely to be a burning question of the near future, it is perhaps worth restating the principles as they have been hammered out in the last two or three years—even at the risk of some platitude. For the moment, in other words, the question is rather one of defining what is meant by taxable capacity.

It is as well to dispose first of the Chancellor's red herring. The taxes which the Government *could* increase and which the taxpayers would no doubt pay are almost unlimited. But this truism alone does nothing to show what additional taxes could be imposed without ill effects to the economy as a whole nor indeed whether the present rate of taxation is not itself already having harmful effects. *A fortiori* the fact that income tax has been reduced since the end of the war while other taxes have been increased (though the Chancellor did not mention this) does nothing to show that to increase them again would do no harm. The question at issue is at what point, in principle, taxation defeats its own ends. In theory this is a comparatively simple question to answer, though the answer must always be subject to somewhat tiresome qualifications to bring it into line with reality. The



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This is the barest outline. To fit the actual situation into this schematic design is a very different matter. We may add the additional complication that at the moment the Government is doing part of the country's saving through the budget surplus and that therefore part of taxation is merely a transfer. It is certain also that in real life the point of

danger comes earlier than it should in theory. Men and women are discouraged or encouraged by the actual rewards they receive; and the rate of taxation itself, particularly when it is high, has a significant influence on their efforts. Yet this is precisely what has to be decided. Is the present rate of taxation so high that the apparent Government saving is matched by dissaving in the private sector? If so has the time yet come when the effects of this dissaving would be apparent? Even if we have not yet reached this point, are we not so near it that an increase in taxation, especially in company taxation, would push us past it? Certainly there is sufficient evidence, in company balance sheets, in individual experience, and in the depreciation of the value of the money, to suggest that on the most favourable view none of these questions can be dismissed. And this being so, we are at or near the limit of taxability.

So the argument comes full circle. It is doubtful whether the increased commitment for defence can be accommodated without increased taxation. Judging from the only reasonable criterion of taxable capacity, it is certain that the country is at or near the limit. If inflation is to be avoided therefore and exports maintained there must be some retrenchment either in private consumption, or in investment, or in Government expenditure. The first of these is not pleasant to contemplate, the second is not expedient to contemplate, the third (or so it seems) is not possible to contemplate. Only a cynic could provide the appropriate comment. *Quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.*

J. R. APPLEBEY.

RECORD REVIEW

By ALEC ROBERTSON

IT would be strange if publishers' lists of "new and forthcoming books" contained, in fact, a large majority of re-issues and a minority of new books, and it would be even more strange if the monthly lists of the gramophone companies reversed the process. The comparison is far from exact, but the record-buying public do undoubtedly view most new, or hitherto unrecorded, works with suspicion and welcome any number of duplications.

In the August lists there are, however, two absolute novelties, an overture and a concerto, which need cause no apprehension! The overture is by the 18th century French composer Méhul, a successor to Gluck and a contemporary of Grétry and Cherubini, and was written for an opera called *Les Deux Aveugles de Toledo*, about which I know nothing. The music of the overture suggests that the opera is a light-hearted affair, and there is in it an interesting use of local colour in the form of a *bolero*. Beecham's affection for the French composers of Méhul's period is well known and he conducts the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra in a delightful and very well recorded performance of this charming overture (H.M.V. DB 21084). The concerto is really a suite of five pieces, arranged by Gordon Bryan, for oboe and string orchestra by Domenico Scarlatti, the label "No. 1 in G" suggesting that there are others.

The first three movements are pleasant but unremarkable, the last two (Aria and Tarantella) being much superior to them, but all are played in great style by Leon Goossens accompanied by the Philharmonia String Orchestra, conducted by Susskind, and the recording has an exemplary clarity (Columbia DX 8347-8).

Nathan Milstein has recorded the Violin Concerto in A minor by Glazounov—it was done many years ago by Heifetz—accompanied by William Steinberg and the R.C.A. Victor Symphony Orchestra

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THE NATIONAL* AND ENGLISH REVIEW

(H.M.V. DB 21085-87). The chief attraction of this issue is the wonderful playing of the soloist, lovely in expressive passages, brilliant in those that call for virtuosity, as in the exciting rondo-finale. Glazounov's musical building is that of an excellent craftsman but the conversation in its rooms is all too familiar. The recording, though American, will not offend British connoisseurs for it is unusually well-toned. If you dislike Furtwangler's habit of pausing to admire the music scenery his recording, with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, of Mendelssohn's "Hebrides" Overture is not for you. I myself find it full of imagination, a superb evocation of Mendelssohn's exquisite and unfading seascape (H.M.V. DB 6941).

The modern organ frequently gets the blame for what the organist does with it, but no reproach, on any organ, could be levelled at so sensitive an artist as Geraint Jones. This fine Bach player has, however, recorded the Passacaglia in C minor not on a modern organ but on one Bach might have known. This organ, at Steinkirchen, about thirty miles from Hamburg, was built by Schnitger in 1689 and incorporates much material from an earlier instrument of 1540. The absence of a great to swell coupler, in addition to Mr. Jones's musicianship, makes the part writing astonishingly clear and the lovely and splendidly recorded tones of this instrument of twenty-nine stops and two

manuals should disarm even those who are prejudiced against all organ recordings as such (H.M.V. C 7790-1. On special order only).

There are three finely played performances and excellent recordings of Beethoven's music. Sonata in C minor, Op. 30 No. 2 for violin and piano. Max Rostal and Franz Osborn (Decca AK 2356-9): String Quartet No. 11 in F minor, Op. 95, Schniederhan Quartet (Columbia LX 8727-8): and the last piano Sonata, Op. 111 in C minor, played by Solomon (H.M.V. C 4000-3). This last is superb. Solomon has risen to the full height of the great argument at all points from the gigantic gestures of the opening bars to the ethereal beauty of the closing pages. H.M.V. do well to put this masterpiece, too long now absent from the catalogues, on plum label. It is magnificently recorded.

There is space only for a bare mention of two vocal recordings. Doctor Dulcamara's richly comic *buffo* aria, *Udite rustici*, from Donizetti's *L'Elisir d'amore*, which we hope to hear the La Scala company do at Covent Garden this month. The aria is well sung and characterised by Luciano Neroni on Parlophone R 30019. Finally, two nostalgic beer-garden songs from Grinzing, sung by Erich Kunz on Columbia LB 98, which made me very thirsty!

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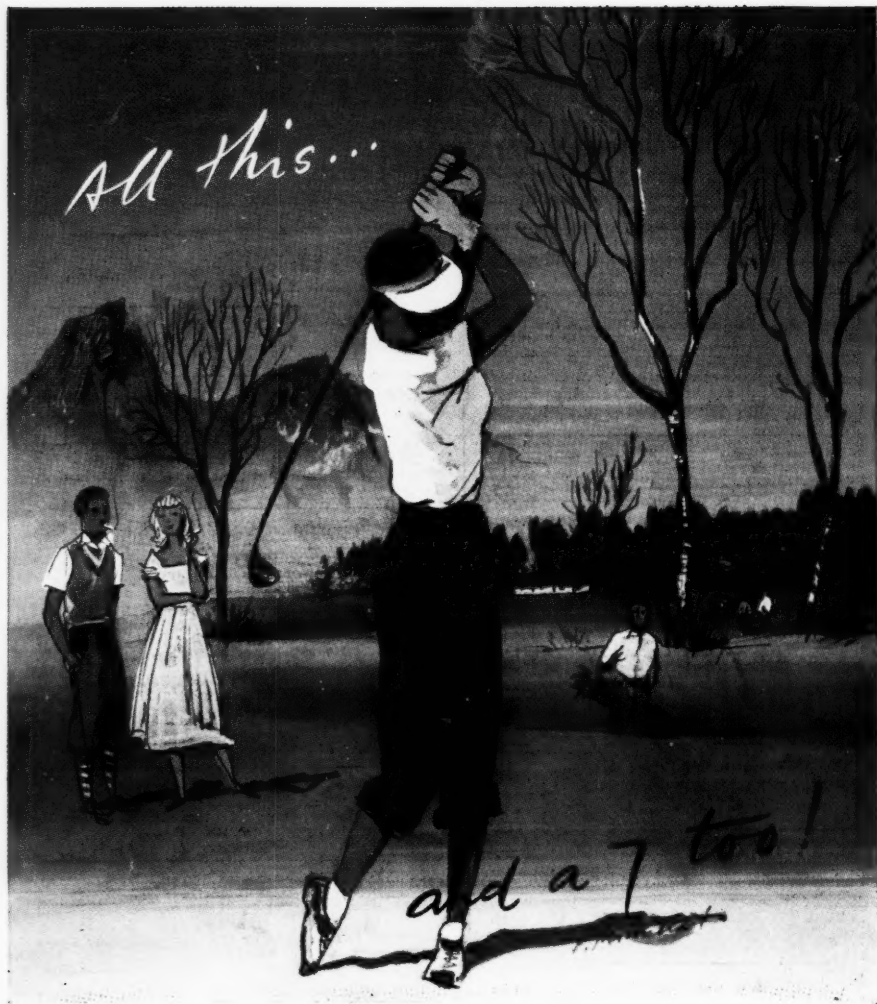
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